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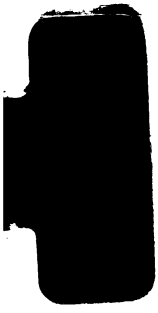

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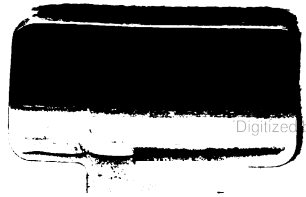

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MEMOIRS

OF

ARCHBISHOP JUXON

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MEMOIRS

OF

ARCHBISHOP JUXON

AND HIS TIMES

WITH A SKETCH OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S PARISH

LITTLE COMPTON

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HENNESSEY MARAH

ASSOCIATE OF KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

AND VICAR OF LITTLE COMPTON, MORETON-IN-MARSH, IN THE DIOCESE OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL

Oxford

AND 377, STRAND, LONDON

JAMES PARKER AND CO.

1869

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PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

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DEDICATION.

To the Very Reverend and Reverends the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford; the President and Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford; and the Master, Wardens, and others constituting the Society commonly termed 'The Merchant Taylors' Company.'

The author takes leave to dedicate his book to the above-mentioned corporations, severally and collectively.

To the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church in the first place, as a token of gratitude for the warm, generous, and substantial support evinced towards him in carrying on his work in the parish. Without such support, and at the same time an extremely nice feeling of generous confidence in the rectitude of his motives and actions, the Vicar of Little Compton could never have taken up so independent a position, nor been enabled to effect such considerable improvements, as this work discloses. Nor would his attention have been directed to the publication of the book, had he not received a kind promise of generous encouragement from the House. He therefore owes a great debt of gratitude to the Dean and Chapter, and hopes they will receive this small token of respect as a mark of the deep feeling which pervades his breast.

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To the President and Fellows of St. John's College the work must also be dedicated, inasmuch as the name of Juxon is dear to them. The good archbishop was formerly their president, and at his decease left the college so large a benefaction, as to entitle the name of Juxon to be added to the list of founders and benefactors. The author believes it has long been the wish of St. John's College to rescue the archbishop's name from oblivion; but though many attempts were made, it was thought that sufficient material could not be found to furnish a biography, and thus the attempt was abandoned. The author now hopes that he has supplied the deficiency, and that the College will kindly take his little offering under their kind patronage and support.

To the society called 'the Merchant Taylors' Company' the book is also dedicated in the third place, because the author feels assured that the Company must and will take more than ordinary interest in the name of Juxon. The author has quoted largely from 'Wilson's Merchant Taylors';' he has thus been enabled to shew the extensive connection of the name of Juxon with the society, and, above all, that of the hero of this work, who appears to have obtained their special regard and attention, and to have been prized as one of their brilliant stars. The author therefore confidently entrusts this revival of the name of one of their greatest alumni to their special care and patronage.

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PREFACE.

At a time when the press teems with publications of all kinds, especially biographies, and the complaint arises that there are more books than readers, it must require an amount of moral courage in an obscure and unknown man obtruding himself on public notice, and adding to the number of publications. The only excuse which the author can allege is the simple fact, that in God's providence he was called upon to fill the office of cure of souls in the parish of Little Compton—the archbishop's parish—in the year 1857. This necessarily drew his attention to the tombstones and other monuments in the church respecting the family of the Juxons—superadded to the fact of a charity, called Archbishop Juxon's Charity, dispensed in Little Compton—and led him to make enquiries. He had also some time to spare between his recovery of health in 1862 and his return to his living in 1863. This time he spent in making researches in the British Museum and the Bodleian at Oxford; whence he was enabled to collect together more material than he expected. In the course of his investigations he discovered that attempts had repeatedly been made to furnish

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a biography of the archbishop, and had failed for want of matter. Nothing daunted, he still persevered. Moreover, the notices issued in the local papers at the erection of the church and school aroused public attention, the name of the Archbishop revived, and several applications were made to the incumbent, who was known to have collected much material about the archbishop, to put this in form and publish some memoir of him. Accordingly the author set himself to work, and produced this book, which was ready for the press as early as the summer of 1868. But on offering it to two of the large publishers, he was discouraged by the discovery 'that the name of Juxon was not of sufficient importance to attract public attention and render the work lucrative.' In this dilemma, he was obliged to remain quiescent for a time. At length he determined to publish it at his own risk, leaving the results to a generous and patronizing public for appreciation of the merits of his book.

The author does not lay claim to any originality. All he has done has been, by diligent research, to collect from all sources whatever materials could be obtained respecting the archbishop, and to arrange them in a definite form and shape. To this he has added the two works of the Archbishop, namely, his published Sermon on the Death of King Charles, and his Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη, which of themselves might well form a publication, and be rescued from oblivion. But although there may be no originality, the work may not be the less interesting. Every clergyman

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knows right well, that when all the passages in Scripture referring to a certain subject are all arranged and set in order, without any comment, the subject assumes a freshness and interest which takes him by surprise. Why, then, may not the same interest be excited in the biography of an individual when collected from various sources? The author therefore hopes that his labour will not be in vain, and that his book will have the effect of reviving the name of Archbishop Juxon, and supply a great deficiency. Perhaps, also, at a time when great changes in Church and State are the prevailing characteristic of our age, this work may have the effect of recalling public attention to past events in our history, tend to sober down public opinion, and cause leaders of public thought to exercise care and discrimination in directing a torrent upon rapid alterations, which may prove so uncontrolled as to be incapable of arrest, when the evil consequences begin to roll onwards to the flood of overwhelming annihilation.

In the author's sketch of Little Compton he has been necessarily led to introduce a record of his work in the parish, which he trusts will not prove uninteresting to the clergy and others. The credit of such great improvement is due to the generous and noble support which it was his good fortune to obtain. Yet, at the same time, he hopes he was not deficient, in zeal, energy, and devotion, in directing these efforts, and accomplishing such results. It gives him considerable satisfaction to say,

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that a great moral change has been produced in the parish during the last twelve months, and that he has now no reason to despair of the work of God in Little Compton, nor yet to doubt the truth of the old motto, '*Obdurans perseverantia omnia vincit.*'

The work has been delayed in consequence of the marriage of the author; but he trusts this delay will not prevent its meeting with the cordial support of a generous and sympathizing public.

LITTLE COMPTON VICARAGE,
November 1, 1869.

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PART I.

LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP JUXON.

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PART I.

LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP JUXON.

CHAPTER I.

Enquiries about Archbishop Juxon.—The Author's views on his Birth, Parentage, Early Life.

ARCHBISHOP JUXON, the hero of these memoirs, has been for a long period entirely forgotten, both by the Christian Church and by the general community at large. The reason simply is, that, like all humble and unobtrusive characters, he did not make much stir by offering himself to the gaze of public opinion in his own times, and thus very little has been left on record respecting him. Until very recently, almost all that was known of him was simply that he was the devoted friend of the unhappy Charles I, and attended the king on the scaffold. But enquiries set on foot by searchers of history have brought to light much more than this. Still, from the peculiar circumstances of his times, the records are very meagre; and hence it has been very difficult to answer these enquiries satisfactorily. Thus, it is not surprising that so many theories have been started respecting the place of his birth, his ancestors, or the peculiar nature of his studies; whether or no he originally applied himself to the Law, and subsequently resolved to take Orders.

The study of archæology of late years has been the means of eliciting much enquiry. Several notices have been inserted in Notes and Queries, and answers from time to time given.

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To these, then, the author has naturally turned his attention; but, after careful enquiry and research, has discovered that no sufficient or authoritative information has been educed on the all-important questions propounded.

In Notes and Queries, Third Series, ii. 147, we have the following:—

'*Bishop Juxon.*—Of what family was the well-known bishop? His father, Richard Juxon, was probably a person in humble life. He appears to have had two sons, both of whose lines (male and female) are now extinct.

'Bishop Juxon was born at Albourne, Sussex, about 1582; and died in 1663, leaving his nephew, created *Sir* William Juxon, Bart., his heir. Although it has been said that the bishop had a daughter, it does not appear what became of her, and it is almost certain that she predeceased (issueless) her father. The issue of Sir William Juxon (the only representative of Richard his grandfather) became extinct; and the baronetcy expired on the demise of Sir William Juxon, the second baronet, in 1740. So far the proofs of the extinction of this family are clear enough, but concerning its origin there are some difficulties.' 'M. S. S.'

Again, in Third Series, ii. 231:—

'*Bishop Juxon* (Third Series, ii. 147).—M. S. S., while enquiring of what family was the well-known Bishop Juxon, proceeds to sketch a history of the descendants of that brave, loyal, and faithful prelate, and concludes by saying, "So far the proofs of the extinction of this family are clear enough;" but inasmuch as evidence exists tending to establish the contrary as the fact, and as M. S. S. does not adduce any authority for, or corroboration of, his statements, I apprehend we may consider he forms his inference on insufficient grounds; and with regard to this, I will first relate as much of the case to which I allude as memory and information enable me, proceed to notice in M. S. S.'s account the points which appear open to contravention, and then await further communication.

'Some years ago I became acquainted with a gentleman

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resident in Jamaica, whose ancestors had been settled in that island since the time of the Commonwealth, and one of whom had received at the Restoration an extensive grant of crown lands there. His name was Jackson, and he was a clergyman, and formerly of Pembroke College, Oxford, and he and his ancestors possessed large estates in the island. He claimed to be descended from Archbishop Juxon, though whether in the male or female line I forget; but at all events, the impression remains on my mind that he clearly established his right to represent that house, either deriving through male or female. He possessed two gold cups, heirlooms in the family, the one of which was reputed to be the identical vessel out of which the martyred monarch of blessed memory received at the hands of the pious bishop the wine of the holy Sacrament; and tradition relates that Archbishop Juxon owned a third cup, which now belongs either to the See or to the Corporation of London; and I think that it was also added that the beakers had been presented to the prelate either by the King or by the Corporation; and among the family pictures at Catherine Hall, Montego Bay (an estate of the Jacksons), was one representing Archbishop Juxon and Bishop Shipley, who also was connected with the family. The arms borne by the Rev. Mr. Jackson and his ancestors were the same as those of the house of the same name settled at Combhay, Devon, and in Cumberland; the crest—a horse, arg. courant guttée de sang on a knight's helmet; and the younger sons had been accustomed to bear the same crest, but a mitre in lieu of the helmet. I noted these points, and also the arms, inscriptions, and stamps on the gold cups alluded to. So far as I could read the device (no tinctures were visible), the one cup bore—Quarterly, 1 and 4, a bend between a mullet in chief, and an annulet in base; 3rd and 4th, on a bend engr. 3 mullets (or cinquefoils), impaling on the sinister side a cross between 4 blackamoors' heads couped at shoulder and wreathed about the temples (Juxon). This cup is large; had a flat lid (whereon the same arms are displayed), ornamented with an acorn as handle, and two handles at the side. The other vessel is somewhat in shape like a common drinking-horn,

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bears a crest, a blackamoor's head crowned with an eastern crown, with earrings pendant from the ears, and round the base is inscribed, "The Gift of y^e^ most Reverend William Juxon, D.D., Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Treasurer of England, dyed y^e^ year *1663*." Stamp on one of the cups (but my notes do not state which); 1st, a lion pass.; 2nd, a lion's head affrontée, ducally crowned; 3rd, capital letter B; and 4th, letter (E?).

'The points in M. S. S.'s communication open to contravention are,—his assertion that Richard Juxon's (brother of archbishop) line is extinct, both male and female, and his statement that the archbishop's daughter predeceased him.

'May I ask M. S. S. to inform me on what authority he assumes Richard Juxon had two sons; and why he imagines both of these sons' descendants are extinct; how he knows the archbishop had a daughter, and why he thinks she predeceased her father issueless?

'I am a very old reader of, and an occasional contributor to, Notes and Queries, and am very much interested in it and its success, and I regret to notice that lately a tendency has been exhibited to admit biographical and genealogical notes where the writer has omitted to record his authority for his statements and proofs of each link, and also hap-hazard assertions similar to those made by M. S. S.

'CÆDO ILLUD.'

'I shall be glad if the following notes may be of use to your correspondent M. S. S. The archbishop was a Merchant Taylor, and therefore it is probable that some, at least, of those mentioned below were members of his family. The archbishop was *grandson* of John Juxon of London. One of this name was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company, and by his will, dated August 17, 1626, bequeathed several sums of money for the payment of certain lectureships in the city of London; or, failing these, to found exhibitions at Oxford and Cambridge, for the benefit of Merchant Taylors' school. Possibly this John Juxon was the archbishop's grandfather. Others of the name at the same school were—

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'Rowland Juxon, elected Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, 1601 (three years after the archbishop), M.A. 1608. Rector of Radnige, Berks.

'John Juxon, born Feb. 10, 1609.

'Rowland Juxon, born Dec. 24, 1608.

'Thomas Juxon, born June 24, 1614.

'George Juxon, born Sept., 1661.

'Walter Juxon, born Sept., 1663.

'Charles Juxon, born 1666, and

'Thomas Juxon, who became B.A. of Queens' College, Cambridge, 1623.

'In Dugard's Register of the School, mention is also made (anno 1645) of Samuel Juxon, third son of Thomas Juxon, gent., born March 4, 1635, and baptized at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, London.

'I extracted the following some time ago:—"Married, at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, London, 25 June, 1680, John Juxon, of St. Michael's, Queenhithe, and Mary Parker of St. Martin's-le-Grand."

'See also Burke's Landed Gentry, vol. i. p. 691 (edition 1862):—"John Fred. N. Hewett, married Elizabeth La Motte, daughter of the Rev. S. J. Jackson of Ayton, St. David's, Jamaica, representative of the family of the loyal Bishop Juxon."

'C. J. R.'

'From the following graphic statement, extracted from a recent volume, The History of West Street Episcopal Chapel, London, by the Rev. R. W. Dibdin, the family of Bishop Juxon would appear to be not extinct. Speaking of the year 1860, the good and holy-minded author records a conversation and its results:—

'"A poor man, a shoemaker, with an invalid wife, came, as he often did, to me in the vestry for some coals. He told me that if he worked hard, and had a *good week*, he could earn eight shillings. The wholesale dealer paid him tenpence for a pair of ladies' boots. I said it was a pity he could not keep a shop himself, or otherwise get more money for so much

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labour. It was sad to see a pious man coming, week after week, for years together, for relief from the church, when his labour entitled him to enough for his wants. Now, said I, could you not manage to do this, if I helped you with a sum of money?

'"*W.* Why, sir, I could, if I lived in a more genteel situation.

'"*I.* Genteel! what, in Belgravia?

'"*W.* No, sir; but if I could get a *front parlour*, instead of two pairs back.

'"*I.* In Seven Dials?

'"*W.* Why, yes, sir; or better, in St. Ann's—that's *very respectable.*

'"*I.* Well, if that is genteel enough, we can manage it. Now, you have often told me that your mother was named Juxon, and was the last of the family of Bishop Juxon, who attended Charles I on the scaffold. Now, do this—write a statement of your case, and mention that you are the *last of the Juxons*, and let me have it.

'"*W.* How shall I do it, sir?

'"*I.* Write a letter.

'"*W.* To whom, sir?

'"*I.* To me, of course.

'"*W.* Well, sir, I will try.

'"The next day he appeared with a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury!—Why W.....! I exclaimed; what's this?

'"*W.* The letter, sir.

'"*I.* What could induce you to write to the archbishop? I am quite astonished! You don't suppose I can take this to so great a man as he?

'"*W.* Well, *I* was astonished. But I thought you said so!

'"*I.* I!—I never mentioned his name.

'"The only way I can account for this strange blunder is, that while we conversed, we stood before the fireplace; and a portrait of the archbishop hangs over the fireplace. Possibly I may unconsciously have pointed to it, and in his gratitude and confusion (for I had spoken of getting £8 or £10 for

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him), he may have misunderstood me; for he said in some excitement, 'Ten pounds! I never had such a sum in my life.'—'Well,' said I, 'leave the letter and go.' It struck me that it might be a providential leading. So, knowing the thoroughly amiable disposition of the primate, I went next day to Addington, and found him alone. He received me courteously (as he always has). I told him my errand. He laughed at the mistake, and saying that he had two or three similar applications every day of his life, generously gave me £2 to head my list. I soon got all I wanted. R. C. L. Bevan, Esq., gave me £2; and the poor man was, to use his own expression, now made 'quite a gentleman.' Over his mantlepiece are the portraits of his great ancestor, Bishop Juxon; and opposite (in more respects than one) that of his 'great benefactor,' as he calls the archbishop."

'EDWARD F. RIMBAULT.'

And in Third Series, ii. 290:—

'*Bishop Juxon* (Third Series, ii. 147, 232).—Small errors are often used in angling for large ones. I shall confine myself at present to CÆDO ILLUD'S remarks, as he has oddly enough transferred the enquiry from the good bishop's to a Jamaica family of a different name, and apparently unconnected with it; and seems entirely to ignore the family of *Hesketh*, on which the representation of the Juxons really devolves; and to which *only* an apology is due from me, for my recent *oversight*.

'I mentioned, not *positively*, but on *hearsay*, and (as the context shews) without attaching any value to it, the belief amongst *some* persons that the primate had a daughter. I said so; just as CÆDO ILLUD sets forth the Jackson hypothesis, with *this difference*, that he appears to believe implicitly the idle story which he so strongly advocates.

'Had CÆDO ILLUD followed out his own dictum, and supported his argument with a veritable Jackson pedigree and grant of arms, then indeed he would have been consistent; but as the matter stands, his whole evidence rests on his *own assertion*—that the owner of two gold cups bearing the

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Juxon arms made a statement to him, and that the "impression remains" on his mind that he "*clearly* established his right to represent that house (Juxon), either deriving through male or female." (!)

'As for the "grant of crown lands" in Jamaica, any one may be satisfied that ordinary respectability, and the means to clear and keep the same, under certain limitations, were the government terms.

'Now, may I ask: Where is CÆDO ILLUD'S *authority?* Where are his *connecting links?* What does his vague evidence go to prove? What would a jury say, were such a case on such evidence placed before it? There is nothing more common than mistakes about portraits; but in the present instance, the very existence of such a portrait as that of Bishop Juxon rests on no foundation whatever. There "is said" to have been one also of Bishop Shipley. Was he, therefore, likewise an ancestor? And what of the "Jacksons of Combhay," or of the ancestors of the possessors of the gold cups? How were they connected? Is the simple possession of a seal, of unknown date, and traceable by no names, to be seriously offered in proof of a very feeble attempt to make out a case of historical descent from the semblance of circumstantial evidence? CÆDO ILLUD, with warm sympathies, has been betrayed into rather illogical statements; but I trust that he will yet pursue the more profitable enquiry as to the origin of Bishop Juxon's family.

'In conclusion, I beg to name Dallaway's "Sussex" as my authority for saying that Richard Juxon had two sons. By a reference to that work, I think that CÆDO ILLUD will be satisfied that there is no proof whatever to destroy the belief that Sir R. Hesketh was, in 1792, the sole representative of the bishop's family, and that the representation remains in his family to this day. 'M. S. S.'

P.S. C. J. R. will find, on reference to the history of Sussex, that Archbishop Juxon's grandfather "suffered for his religion in 1557," at Chichester. In the Cal. State Papers (Col. Series) a certain Nicholas Juxon is mentioned in con-

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nection with Barbadoes; but he does not appear to have been a relative of the prelate.

'I feel assured, from enquiries that I have made, that the learned Ulster King-at-Arms does not *guarantee* the pedigrees inserted in the "Landed Gentry."

'CÆDO ILLUD has fallen into precisely the same error that he condemns in M. S. S., namely, that of advancing statements unsubstantiated by the facts of the case. If such a statement as that made by the former, with reference to the claim which he puts forward in behalf of the family of Jackson, be *seriously entertained*, our titled classes would soon have enough to do to ward off the approaches of *supposed ill-used* heirs to their honours.

'The practice of claiming to represent this or that mediæval celebrity is one of the salient follies of the day; and arises from causes which are obvious, and do not therefore require to be pointed out.

'It must be evident to the serious reader of Notes and Queries, that the connection between the families of Juxon and Jackson remains quite as apocryphal as ever. The similarity of names, and the possession of the cups mentioned, are the sole foundation for such a conjecture. There may or may not have been a picture of Bishop Juxon at Catherine Hall, Jamaica, but in either case that fact would prove nothing: for nothing is more common than for families to possess portraits of the members of other families. But to cut the *supposed Gordian knot* (although I fail to detect one), let the Jackson pedigree, authorised by the Heralds' College, be produced; and let it be compared with any known pedigree of Juxon. If, then, there should appear to be any connection between the two, I shall deny my *nom de plume*.

'EX NIHILO NIHIL FIT.'

'The conversation between the Rev. R. W. Dibdin and the poor shoemaker (*ante*, p. 233), reminds me of the following, which appeared among the Answers to Correspondents in a weekly journal issued in 1854:—"Q., Birmingham. 1765, there was a Juxon, a shoemaker in the cloisters, West Smith-

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field, descended from a younger brother of the celebrated Archbishop Juxon." 'W. W. TAYLOR, Jun.'

The foregoing extracts shew the nature of the enquiries and the controversy on the points elicited, but do not on the whole afford any satisfactory results. The author has therefore thought it necessary to make diligent search, as far as possible, to correct these erroneous impressions. He does not say he has succeeded to the fullest extent, but he hopes to arrive at truth, as nearly as the statements on record will warrant.

With respect to the Juxon family, there can be no question that it takes its rise from London. The mention of so many in connection with Merchant Taylors', not only as scholars, but as holding offices of position in the management and bequeathing legacies of trust to the institution, while the descendants take interest in keeping up and supervising their direction, all indicate a *local* attachment to Merchant Taylors'. Thus from Wilson's Merchant Taylors' we notice—

p. 112. '*Thomas Juxon* signs, in company with other wardens, a letter to the Worshipful Ralph Hutchinson, President of St. John Baptist's College, Oxon., calling attention to St. Barnabas' Day for election of scholars; dated Merchant Taylors' Hall, May 5, 1595. He appears also to have been Chief Warden 1599–1600, and is supposed to have been a relative of the archbishop.'

p. 126. '*William Juxon*, a scholar of Merchant Taylors', pronounced an oration in Latin; elected to St. John's College, Oxon., 1598.

'*Edmund Juxon*, also a competitor for election to Oxford.

'*Rowland Juxon*, also a scholar.'

p. 153. '*Thomas Juxon*, Master of the Company, 1603; also one of the Examiners for the Company.'

p. 201. '*Thomas Juxon*, June 11, 1618, a principal scholar (entered 1617), delivered oration in Latin and put up for election; a son of the foregoing; Warden 1670–71.'

p. 209. 'June 11, 1622. Memorandum of the Master and Wardens observing the usual rule of their predecessors three

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weeks before St. Barnabas, to notify the election. At the dinner given on the occasion, were present bishops of Rochester and St. David's, *Mr. William Juxon,* President of St. John's, Christopher Wren and Francis Hudson, two of the senior Fellows, who were also present at the Latin orations.

'June 11, 1623. A special note of the presence of *William Juxon,* President, at the annual anniversary.'

p. 227. '1626. Towards the close of the year, John Juxon, Esq., a member of the Company, bequeathed several sums of money, to be paid yearly for ever out of certain lands and tenements mentioned in his will, for the better maintenance of certain lectures *in the city of London;* providing at the same time, that if any of the lectures should be discontinued, a proportionable share of the said money should be paid to the Master and Wardens, and their successors for the time being for ever; to be paid according to their discretion "at or before the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, to some poor scholar, the one year in Oxford, and the other year in Cambridge." (This John Juxon is also spoken of as a relative of Dr. Juxon, then President of St. John's.) "And from this fund," the note goes on to say, "by reason of the discontinuance of the lectures, have many deserving young men been assisted in the purchase of books at the commencement of their academical studies. In former times, when money was more valuable and books cheaper, the produce of this benefaction (which very soon fell in) was usually divided among the candidates of the year; but for some time past it has been given entire, to the amount of £12, when any young man seemed most to want it, or most likely to make a proper use of it, by expending it on the purchase of books."'

p. 237. 'July 3, 1635. *John Juxon,* heir of the foregoing, came to the Court and acquainted them that the lectures appointed by his father were not continued; tendering at the same time a sum of money in full of all arrears that had accumulated during his minority. But some difference of opinion arising between the Court and Juxon, referees were appointed on both sides, with power to adjust the account and report their proceedings. This they did on the 11th of Nov.,

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when the sum of £30 was taken in discharge of all arrears to Lady-day preceding, and Juxon was complimented, at his request, with the nomination of two of the first scholars who should receive his father's benevolence. In a note to this we learn that John Juxon the elder made his will August 17, 1626, and on September 18, same year, administration was granted to Arthur Juxon, during the minority of John Juxon, to whom, on coming of age, administration was granted November 27, 1635.'

p. 237. 'May 19, 1675. *Mrs. Elizabeth Juxon*, daughter and executrix of the late Thomas Juxon, one of the Assistants of this Society, presented to the Court thirteen volumes in folio, being her father's legacy to the Library, for which she received the thanks of the Company.' (Minutes of Court, May 19, 1675.)

p. 237. 'July 12, 1763. The disposal of *Juxon's* gift was postponed till after the clerk had laid before the Court an account of the persons to whom it had been given in the preceding year, which he did on the nineteenth of the same month.'

p. 237. 'Dec., 1773. An order made that in future all applications for *Juxon's* book-money to be in writing, and the gift not disposed of till a subsequent Court.'

Thus far for these extracts. The author, in the absence of any genealogical table, is unable to state that all the persons enumerated belong to the family of the great archbishop. There seems, however, a sort of probable connexion among them. One thing, doubtless, is certain, that they had some interest in the city of London, and in Merchant Taylors' School in particular. But further, we are enabled to trace one definite fact, viz. the probability that Thomas Juxon was a relative of the archbishop; and the interment of 'Thomæ Juxon' among the Juxon family in Little Compton Church seems to point in the same direction. A spirit of charity appears to pervade the name of Juxon, which was so fully exemplified in the character, both in life and death, of the archbishop.

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In reference to the exact parentage and birth of Dr. Juxon, the author has no scruples in averring that the accounts hitherto known or made public in Notes and Queries are not accurate. From Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses we learn that 'William Juxon was the son of Richard Juxon of Chichester, son of John Juxon of London, was born, as 'tis said, within the city of Chichester in Sussex.' Wilson's Merchant Taylors' also states that 'William Juxon, or Juxton, was the son of Richard Juxon of Chichester in Sussex, who was the son of John Juxon of London. William was born at Chichester in the year 1582.'

The author fully inclines therefore to Chichester, and not Albourne in Sussex, as the birth-place of Dr. Juxon. And he is the more strongly persuaded of this, from the fact that the archbishop in his will remembered the poor of the parish of St. Peter the Great, alias the Sub-deanery, in the city of Chichester, with a gift of £100, being also the *first-mentioned* of his donations; and furthermore that the archbishop made his own will, in which he appears to have observed a certain order and arrangement with respect to the events of his life. (*Vide* Will.) But finally and conclusively, since the foregoing was written, the author has discovered, through the kindness of Dr. Wynter, the present President of St. John's, that the archbishop registered himself on the books of the College as 'William Juxon, President, born at Chichester.'

There cannot be a doubt but that Dr. Juxon was educated at Merchant Taylors'. His name is mentioned in p. 126 as a scholar, who pronounced a Latin oration, and was elected to St. John's College, 1598; which would make him about sixteen years of age. From the same authority, as well as from Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, we learn that he became Fellow of St. John's the same year (1598). He took the degree of B.C.L. 1603, a few years after his election. Both these authorities state, after announcement of the fact of the B.C.L. degree, that he was 'about that time a student of Gray's Inn,

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near London.' This writer has been unable to verify the fact. It is quite true that the Juxon arms appended to those of the See of London stand in the east window of the chapel at Gray's Inn. Whether this may be considered as conclusive evidence that he was one of their alumni, forms a difficult question. It is well known that at that time law was a favourite study in the University, and there was nothing to prevent Dr. Juxon from following that pursuit, and proceeding to his degree from St. John's. The time between his election to St. John's and his degree, only five years, does not at all warrant the assumption that he had accomplished his studies at both places. The only probable solution would be that, after spending his three or three and a half years at Oxford, he entered at Gray's Inn to pursue his favourite study, but remained there only for a very short period. For we find that, very shortly after his degree, he took Holy Orders, and in the latter end of the year 1609 was Vicar of the Church of St. Giles in the north suburb of Oxford.

In reference to the controversy in Notes and Queries, it may not be out of place to state here, that there is sufficient evidence to shew that the archbishop never married, and consequently could have no 'daughter who predeceased him issueless.' The supposed connection between the Jacksons of Jamaica and the archbishop stands also upon a very slender foundation. The author must therefore leave the affair about the gold cup and the pictures at Catherine Hall, Jamaica, as furniture to the other myths respecting Dr. Juxon. The informal copy of the archbishop's will, published in Notes and Queries, Second Series, viii. 471, from the Harl. MSS. 938, p. 10, may have led to many mistakes, which, it is hoped, will now be rectified, by the genuine copy out of Doctors' Commons inserted in this work, tending, as it does, to throw much light on the real descendants and relatives of the archbishop.

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CHAPTER II.

His Clerical Career.—Introduction to the King through Laud.—Royal Favours.

At what exact period the archbishop was ordained we have no definite or fixed data. The time mentioned is very shortly after he took his degree of B.C.L., which was July 5, 1603. We are not told to what church or curacy, or the period between his ordination and his incumbency of St. Giles', Oxford. Our first notice must then begin from his appointment as Vicar of St. Giles', near his college, where he officiated about six years. It is said 'he was much admired for his plain and improving way of teaching.' Another account states, that 'he was much frequented for his edifying way of preaching.' Any one reading his sermon on the death of the king, or his work Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη, must perceive the peculiar trait of his character—fervid piety and plain speaking; and therefore it is not at all to be wondered at that, in the first blush of ordination, his peculiarly zealous manner was the means of attracting large congregations, especially in the immediate vicinity of his college, where his early life must have been known. Dr. Juxon's next appointment was to the Rectory of Somerton, in Oxfordshire, which we are told he held for some time.

Nov. 29, 1621. He was elected President of St. John's College—upon the resignation of Laud, promoted to the bishoprick of St. David's—and we are told the following year he proceeded to the degree of D.C.L.

1626. He was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Into this new office he carried his wonted energy; for we are informed (Wilson's Merchant Taylors', p. 665),

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that in the year 1630 he aided vigorously in the reformation of its statutes.

'Many of the old statutes of the University of Oxford being grown out of use by the change of religion, and others by long neglect, some of them also having never been rightly understood, and all so mingled and confounded that it was very hard to say which of them were in force and which not, while the students nevertheless were bound to keep them by oath, if not at their matriculation, yet at their admission to degrees, frequent attempts were made to digest them into a body, that every one might know in what his academical duties consisted. At length, upon the urgent desires of the Earl of Pembroke, and afterwards of Archbishop Laud, who in 1630 succeeded him in the Chancellorship of the University, the work was resumed. Nine doctors and seven masters—among whom was Juxon and Harrison of St. John's—were appointed to revise and remodel the statutes; and to their labours we are indebted for the statutes in use.' (Wood's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 366, 370, 385, 39 1.)

1627. Being at this time one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, Dr. Juxon was made Dean of Worcester in the place of Dr. Joseph Hall, promoted to the See of Exeter. (Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.)

July 10, 1632. Dr. Juxon, Dean of Worcester, at the suit of Laud, then Bishop of London, was sworn in as Clerk of his Majesty's Closet—'that I might have one that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grow weak or infirm, as I must have a time.' (Laud's Life.) In this situation he had opportunity of seeing how his Majesty was affected to the Church of England. But Juxon was destined to fill a higher post.

1633. In the beginning of this year he was nominated and elected Bishop of Hereford, in the place of Dr. Francis Godwin, deceased; and about this time also was made Dean of the King's Chapel. But before his consecration to the See of Hereford, Laud was translated to the See of Canterbury,

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whereupon Dr. Juxon was appointed to succeed his friend and patron in the bishoprick of London. In his episcopal character he became 'the delight of the English nation, whose reverence was the only thing that all parties agreed in, by allowing that honour to the sweetness of his manners that some denied to the sacredness of his function; being by love what another is in pretence—an universal bishop.' (Lloyd's Memoirs of those that Suffered.) 'Nor was it long before,' saith another writer, 'that this primitive prelate—who is described as at the same time "most mild and most vigilant, a lamb and a shepherd"—was made Dean of the Royal Chapels, and sworn in one of his Majesty's Privy Council; preferments highly suitable to his order, and while they seemed to give umbrage to none, were particularly gratifying to the Company under whose patronage he had received his education.' (Wilson's Merchant Taylors', p. 670.)

In connection with Dr. Juxon's high preferment and royal favour, we are told that 'Wren, Dean of Windsor and Clerk of the Closet, was in hopes to be Bishop of London. So the king had intended, had not the Archbishop Laud suggested that the Bishop of London should be a man of whom the archbishop had experience, and upon whom he might rely, and so obtained London for his lordship-elect of Hereford.' And that Laud was not disappointed in his choice, we are further informed that 'on the account of the condition of the Church given in to the king early in 1634, at the suggestion of Laud, with a view to inform his Majesty of the state of religion in his kingdom, and engage his royal countenance in its favour, Juxon certified 'that he had not received a complaint against any of his clergy since his coming to that see.' (Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. iii. p. 762.)

Dr. Juxon's elevation was a matter of much concern with Merchant Taylors' Company. In Wilson's Merchant Taylors', p. 675, there is a special notice to the effect that 'the Company felt a lively interest in the popularity of Juxon.

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Recollecting with pride that the Bishop of London had been a scholar of their own, and had gone by election from their school to the college founded by Sir Thomas White, a brother of their fraternity; they came to a resolution on February 8, 1634, to present his lordship with a bason and ewer of silver, of the value of an hundred nobles, "as a token of their love." Nor could they see that Juxon's promotion was not likely to be a solitary instance of the sovereign's special favour to their scholars, without feelings of self-congratulation.'

(Whitelocke in his Memorials has most unaccountably stated that 'he was *a Commoner in that college,*' p. 24; in which error he has been followed by many of the biographers of the worthy prelate.)

For facts of gift and note of his election from Merchant Taylors' to St. John's, see Minutes of Court, February 8, 1634.

1636. On Sunday, March 6, Juxon, Bishop of London and Dean of his Majesty's Chapel, was made Lord High Treasurer of England, an office which no churchman had held since William Grey, Bishop of Ely, in the time of Henry VI. The appointment was due to Laud, who adds this observation, 'I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more.' On the twentieth of the same month the University of Oxford wrote a letter of congratulation to Juxon. But though this exaltation procured him much envy, his enemies did not pretend to question his ability for the place. They even allowed, that if he had not been an ecclesiastic, he would have been one of the best and most unexceptionable persons whom the king could have called to the post. On this advancement he resigned the Deanery of his Majesty's Chapel, and was succeeded by Bishop Wren. The grounds on which the nobility thought themselves injured by this honour being conferred on Juxon are thus stated by the great Lord Clarendon:—

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'The Treasurer is the greatest office of benefit in the kingdom, and the chief in precedence next the archbishops and the Great Seal; so that the eyes of all men were at gaze who should have this great office. And the greatest of the nobility who were in the chiefest employments looked upon it as the prize of one of them—such offices commonly making way for more removes and preferments—when on a sudden the staff was put into the hands of the Bishop of London, a man so unknown that his name was scarce heard of in the kingdom, who had been within two years before but a private chaplain to the king, and the president of a poor college in Oxford.' (See Hist. Rebel. ed. 1732, vol. i. p. 99.)

But the honourable as well as politic reasons which induced Laud to advise the appointment are already detailed by the judicious Dr. Heylin:—

'Laud being appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, carries on the commission the whole year about, acquaints himself with the secrets and mysteries of it, viz. "the honest advantages which the Lord Treasurer had for enriching himself (to the value of £7000 a year and upwards, as I have heard from his own mouth), without defrauding the king or abusing the subjects." He had observed that divers Treasurers of late years had raised themselves from very mean and private fortunes to the titles and estates of earls, which he conceived could not be done without wrong to both, and therefore he resolves to commend such a man to his Majesty for the next Lord Treasurer who, having no family to raise, no wife and children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treasury to the king's advantage than they had been formerly. And who more likely to come into his eye for that preferment than Juxon, his old and trusty friend, then Bishop of London—a man of such a well-tempered disposition as gave exceeding great content both to prince and people, and one whom he knew capable of as much instruction as by a whole year's experience in the commission for the Treasury he was able to give him. It was much wondered at when first the staff was put into this man's

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hand, in doing whereof the archbishop was generally conceived neither to have consulted his own present peace nor his future safety. Had he studied his own present peace, he should have given Cottington leave to put in for it, who being Chancellor of the Exchequer, pretended himself to be the next in that ascendant— the Lord Treasurer's associate while he lived, and the presumptive heir to that office after his decease. And had he studied his own safety and preservation for the time to come, he might have made use of his power by recommending the staff to the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, the Lord Say, or some such man of popular nobility, by whom he might have been reciprocated by their strength and interest with the people, in the change of times. But he preferred his Majesty's advantage before his particular concernment, the safety of the public before his own. Nor did he want some seasonable considerations in it for the good of the Church. The peace and quiet of the Church depended much on the conformity of the city of London—and London did as much depend, in their trade and payments, upon the love and justice of the Lord Treasurer of England. This therefore was the more likely way to conform the citizens to the direction of their bishop, and the whole kingdom unto them—no small encouragement being thereby given to the London clergy for the improving of their tythes. For, with what confidence could any of the old cheats adventure on a public examination in the Court of Exchequer (the proper Court for suits and grievances of that nature) when a Lord Bishop of London sat therein as the principal judge.' (Cyprianus Anglicanus, p. 285.)

From Heylin's Cyprianus Anglicanus we learn, 'that on the first day of the next term, Juxon was conducted in great state from London House to Westminster Hall, the Archbishop of Canterbury riding by him, and most of the lords and bishops about town, with many gentleman of chief note and quality, followed by two and two, to make up the pomp.' (p. 285.)

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CHAPTER III.

Dr. Juxon Bishop of London.—Troublous Times both in Church and State.

We have noticed in the preceding chapter Dr. Juxon's elevation to the See of London. Archbishop Laud appears throughout his sterling friend and patron. Dr. Juxon, however, did not recline on a bed of roses. The times were troublous indeed, and the state of the Church most disheartening. But he appears to have been one designed by Providence to fulfil his course amid all discouragements and difficulties. Together with Laud there was another associated with him, whose name must now be introduced. This was Bishop Wren, who succeeded him as Dean to his Majesty's Chapel.

In Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, upon the elevation of Dr. Juxon to London this remark is appended, 'that city being then in its height of giddiness and faction.' But an extract recorded in Parentalia, p. 47, will serve to shew the state of the times in Church matters, and this in allusion to Bishop Wren. It appears that this prelate was appointed to the See of Norwich about the time that Dr. Juxon was elevated to that of London, and that in this appointment the king made amends for the preference given to Juxon through Laud's instrumentality. Bishop Wren was on the point of his first visitation when he obtained the office of Dean to his Majesty's Chapel. This visitation (Heylin's Cyp. Angl. p. 285) he appears to have performed in a manner highly satisfactory both to his Majesty and the Metropolitan (Laud), in reference to which the same author records a striking incident, being extracts from the archbishop's certificate and the king's notes

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thereon, which shew in vivid colours the state of the Church:—

'For this divine, my lord of Norwich, hath given me a very careful and particular account, very large, and in all particulars very considerable, and I shall return it to your Majesty as briefly as I can reduce it. And first, he hath for this summer, but by your Majesty's leave, lived (from both his episcopal houses) in Ipswich, partly because he was informed that that side of his diocese did most need his presence, and he found it so; and partly because the chapel at his house in Norwich was possessed by the French congregation, but warning has been given them to provide by Easter next. His lordship found a general neglect of catechizing, but hath restored it; and in Norwich, as there was no sermon on Sunday in the morning, but all put off till the afternoon, and so no catechizing, he hath ordered a sermon in the morning and catechizing in the afternoon. For lecture, they abounded with many set up by private gentlemen, without the knowledge of the ordinary and without due observation of the course or discipline of the Church: divers of them he has regulated, especially at St. Edmundsbury, and with their very good content. And at Ipswich, it is not unknown to them, that now Mr. Ward stands censured in the High Commission and obeys not, yet the bishop was ready to have allowed them another if they would have sought him, but they resolve to have Mr. Ward or none; and that, as is conceived, in despite of the censure of the Court. At Yarmouth, where there was great division heretofore for many years, their lecturer, being censured in the High Commission about two years since, went into New England; since which time there has been no lecturer, and very much peace in the town, and all ecclesiastical orders well observed. But in Norwich, one Mr. Bridge, rather than conform, hath left his lecture and two cures, and is gone into Holland.' (The king: 'Let him go—we are all well be-rid of him.') 'The lecturers in the country,' proceeds the Archbishop, 'generally observe no Church orders at all, and yet the bishop hath carried it with temper; and upon

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their promises, and his hopes of conformity, he hath instituted but three in Norfolk and as many in Suffolk, of which one is no graduate, and hath been a common stage-player. His lordship humbly craves direction what he shall do with such scholars, some in holy orders, and some not, as knights and private gentlemen keep in their houses under pretence to teach their children; as also with some divines that are beneficed in towns or near, but live in gentlemen's houses for the most part. I think it very fit that the beneficed men were commanded to reside upon their cures; and for the rest, your Majesty's instructions allow none to keep chaplains but such as are qualified by law. All which I humbly submit, as the bishop doth, to your Majesty's judgment.' (The king: 'I approve of your judgment in this. I only add, that care must be taken that even those qualified by law keep none but conformable men.') 'For Recusants,' continues the archbishop, 'whereas formerly there were wont to be but two or three presented, his lordship hath caused above forty to be indicted at the last assizes at Norwich; and at the assizes in Suffolk he delivered a list of such as were presented upon the oath of the churchwardens to the Lord Chief Justice, and his lordship delivered it to the grand jury; but they slighted it, pretending the bishop's certificate to be no evidence; but the true reason is conceived to be, because he had also inserted such as had been presented to him for Recusant Separatists as well as Recusant Romanists.' (The king: 'Bishop's certificate in this case must be most unquestionable evidence.') 'His lordship's care,' continues the archbishop, 'hath been such as that, though there are above fifteen hundred clergymen in that diocese and many disorders, yet there are not thirty excommunicated or superseded, whereof some are for contumacy and will not yet submit, some for obstinate refusal to publish your Majesty's declaration,[1] and some for contemning all the orders and

[1] The popular preachers of those times were accustomed not only to dwell on the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and election, but to broach the most extravagant political theories, and to attack the royal prerogative itself. The king therefore published in August, 1622, *certain*

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rites of the Church, and intruding themselves, without licence from the Ordinary, for many years together. Last of all, he found that one half of the churches had not a clerk able to read and to answer the minister in divine service, by which means the people were wholly disused from joining with the priests, and in many, so much as saying "Amen;" but concerning this his lordship has taken care for a reformation. If this account given in by his lordship of Norwich be true, as I believe it is, and ought to believe till it can be disproved, he hath deserved well of the Church of England, and hath been ill-rewarded for it. His humble suit to your Majesty is, that you will be graciously pleased in your own good time to hear the complaints that have been made against him, and that he may not be overborne by an outcry for doing service.' (The king: 'His suit is granted, and assuredly his negative consequence shall follow.')

The following incident is also from the same source, pp. 49–50, and brings out in striking relief the intrigues at Court, as well as the difficult post which Laud had. The king, however, appears to have been as true to the archbishop as he evidently was to Juxon. If all were told, doubtless Juxon had much to contend against; however, as Wren, Juxon, and Laud appear to have been united in troubles and difficulties, as well as in ecclesiastical labours, this interesting picture of court life cannot be out of place in a memoir of those days:—

'Matthew Wren, Dean of Windsor, attended the king in his progress to Scotland, whence, returning home on July 21, he was, on October 20, make Clerk of the Closet (*vice* Juxon) to his Majesty, who very graciously gave him time to remove his family before he required his attendance. Wren came to London on the day that James, Duke of York, afterwards

directions concerning preachers, which though framed in an impartial spirit, excited the wrath of the ultra-Protestants both in the Church and out of it; and as Laud was supposed to be the royal adviser on the occasion, their anger was chiefly directed against him. (Hook's Eccles. Biography, London, 1844.)

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James II., was born, and the next day the king said to him, "Now you are at my elbow, there will be many devices to set the archbishop and you at odds, but I warn you of it, that you suffer no such trick to be put upon you, and therefore I require you both, by that faith which I am sure you both will perform to me, to bind yourselves mutually, neither of you to believe any report against the other; and, if you meet with any such thing, believe it not, yet presently to impart it to each other." And it was well that this prudent advice of the king was followed. For in November, 1633, Dr. Hackett coming to wait at Court as chaplain, and with much wit congratulating the clerk of the closet on his nearer access to the king, began to tell him what hopes he and many others had that he (Wren) would have been made Bishop of London, and that so the king at first intended, had not the archbishop suggested that the Bishop of London should be a man of whom the archbishop had experience, and upon whom he may rely, and so obtained London for his lordship-elect of Hereford (Juxon). Wren paid no regard to Hackett's foolery, suspecting it to be a contrivance of some discontented courtier to breed in him a dislike of Laud; but resolving to keep his faith with the king and archbishop, acquainted them presently with what had passed. The king approved well his conduct therein, and told him there was no truth in the report, nor anything but a plot to kindle coals between them two.'

This incident is also remarkable, as no doubt occurring before the elevation of Wren to the See of Norwich, and thus shewing that this faithful man was not overlooked either by the king or Laud; and though Laud gave the preference to his friend Dr. Juxon for the See of London, his testimony to the merits of Wren, as seen in his communication to the king, shews that he held him in the highest esteem.

Another circumstance took place about the time now before us, which is no less interesting, as furnishing us with a peculiar insight into the manners and customs of the age. The author has however been induced to give it a place in these memoirs,

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because Dr. Juxon appears to have taken part in the affair. It occurred in the year 1636, and is to be found in Wilson's Merchant Taylors', p. 684:—

'Soon after this (referring to the two incidents just related), London being infected with the plague, the King, Queen, and Court went to Oxford, and as Juxon took part therein, a few circumstances of the royal visit may not be out of place. On the evening of Monday, August 29, the Chancellor Laud, accompanied by Juxon, the Lord Treasurer, Wren, Bishop of Norwich, and the Heads of the University, went from St. John's College towards Woodstock, to meet the king. On their return, the procession stopped at the gate of St. John's, where Atkinson (who had been proctor in 1629) delivered a speech to his Majesty, very brief, but much approved of, as the king told Laud after the ceremony. That night the royal party were lodged at Christ Church. Next morning they proceeded to St. John's, where, by his Majesty's leave, his nephews, Charles Prince Elector Palatine, and his brother Prince Rupert, were entered in the Buttery Book.[1] That done, the chancellor shewed them the new building which, at his own charge, he had lately erected, and attended them up the library stairs, when, as soon as they began to ascend, some musicians above entertained them with a short song fitted and timed to the ascending the stairs. In the library they were welcomed to the college in an English speech, spoken by Abraham Wright, another of the fellows, who, when a boy at school, had attracted the notice of Juxon, the President of the college, by his correct enunciation of what he had to deliver after dinner. Laud attended their Majesties into a drawing-room, where they stopped about an hour. In the meantime he caused the windows of the hall to be shut,

[1] These princes were sons of the king's sister Elizabeth, by Frederic, Elector Palatine, who had died Nov. 19, 1632. And the business of the elder one in England was to solicit his uncle to procure his restoration. (Rushworth, Hist. Col., tom. ii. p. 183.) Since this note, the author, in an accidental visit to Magdalen College, discovered a portrait of the Elector Palatine in the common-room of that college, among its worthies.

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candles lighted, and all things made ready for a play called the "Hospital of Lovers," written by George Wylde, who was likewise a fellow of the college. When every arrangement was made, the chancellor gave notice to the king and queen, and attended them into the hall by a private way from the lodgings, without any inconvenience. That the hall might be kept fresh and cool, there was no admission till after the entrance of their Majesties. The princes, nobility, and ladies came in the same way with the king; and when they were seated, another door was opened at the lower end of the hall for the rest of the company. All being settled, the play began. The plot was good, and so was the acting. It was merry and inoffensive, and gave great satisfaction. In the middle of the performance Laud ordered a short banquet for the company. And when the play was over, their Majesties went to Christ Church, from which college they took their leave of the University about eight o'clock next morning, being Wednesday, the 31st August, on the evening of which day the chancellor gave an entertainment in the same room where the king had dined the day before, to all the lords, heads of houses, doctors, proctors, and private friends in the University; to whom he declared his joy that everything had gone off to the approbation of the king and honour of his college, which was at that time so well furnished with members capable of displaying theatrical talent on such an occasion, that they had not borrowed a single actor from any other house to complete their corps.'

A third incident will conclude our records for the year 1636. It has reference to the esteem and regard which the Merchant Taylors' Company ever evinced to Dr. Juxon. It appeared as though they never lost sight of him. Thus we quote the following minute of the Court, Dec. 13, 1636:—

'It is thought fit and so ordered that our Master shall buy and provide against New Year's Fille, four hogsheads of claret wine, viz. two hogsheads to be sent to the Right Honourable and Most Reverend Father in God the Lord

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Archbishop of Canterbury, His Grace; and the other two hogsheads to the Right Honourable and Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, as of the Company's gift unto them.'

We pass on now to notice the disturbances and tumults which began at this period openly to manifest themselves in the Church, and as a consequence in the State too, and afterwards led on to those thrilling results which must pass under our review in these memoirs.

JUXON *and the Scotch Liturgy.*—The king on returning from Scotland, had left to the care of his bishops there to provide such a Liturgy and such a book of Canons as might best suit the nature and humour of the better sort of the Scots, to which it was supposed the rest would easily submit. His Majesty further directed them to transmit the result of their labours to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who with the assistance of Juxon, Bishop of London, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, was to peruse and correct the said books. But Juxon having his hands full of his own business, Laud had no coadjutor in the review but Wren, who was however the best qualified for the task, by reason of his great learning and particular acquaintance with the old Liturgies of the Greek and Latin Churches. After some alterations made by these prelates with the consent of the Delegates from the Scotch bishops, the Canons and Liturgy were presented to the king, who, rejoicing at seeing the good work so forward, was pleased to signify his royal approbation of what had been done, and ordered the Canons to be observed and the Liturgy to be read in all the churches in Scotland; the proclamation to which effect bears date on December 20. And though to this proceeding it has been fashionable to impute all the tumults and confusions which ended in rebellion in that kingdom, it is but justice to observe, that whatever cause of offence was given to the people of that country, originated not from the English but the Scotch bishops, to whom his Majesty

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sent instructions, that, notwithstanding he had established the Service-book by his authority, they were to proceed with moderation, and dispense with all such things as the nation were either not well persuaded of, or concerning which they wished for further information, hoping that time and reason might bring them to a cheerful acquiescence in them. But this cautious advice and direction being unheeded by the prelates in Scotland, they excited a popular dislike against a most excellent composition, by their weak, impolitic, and unreasonable conduct. (Clarendon—Collier.)

Archbishop Laud, in his Diary, observes, that the misfortunes which ensued were apparently owing to the conduct of the Scotch bishops; upon whom the Lords of the Council likewise, in their complaints to the king of the tumults, spared not to lay the greatest blame; and this he thought a sufficient vindication of his Majesty and the three English prelates. (*Vide* Rushworth's Coll. vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 321, 389, 390.)

The English Puritans[1], however, finding the Scotch discontented, struck in with the humour, and played their libels upon the hierarchy. In the dioceses of London and Norwich, several gross misdemeanours took place. Dr. Cornelius Burgess, in a Latin sermon before the London clergy, threw out several insolent passages against the bishops and government of the Church, and refused to give his diocesan a copy of the discourse. One Mr. Wharton, a clergyman in Essex, delivered an indiscreet and scurrilous sermon at Chelmsford, but

[1] Laud had the felicity, aided by Lord Strafford, of obtaining from the Irish Convocation an acceptance of the XXXIX Articles; and he obtained from the piety of Charles a restoration of all the Irish impropriations which had not been granted to laymen. He sought to do the same in Scotland, but the Scotch were jealous, and wished to alter and amend so as to have a Service-book of their own. The King left directions for a Scottish Service-book, and a commission of Scottish bishops was appointed, and directed to correspond with Laud. The Canons and Liturgy when completed were to be submitted to the revisal of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Juxon and Wren, Bishops of London and Norwich. (Hook's Eccles. Biography.)

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on receiving a canonical admonition, was brought to submission. The metropolis was inundated with factious and malicious pamphlets against the ecclesiastical constitution, which Juxon said he had good ground to believe were countenanced, if not written, by some of his own clergy. But it was in the diocese of Norwich in which the Canons and discipline of the Church were more particularly outraged. However, Wren treated the offenders with temper, upon promise of conformity; and though Burton, in his scandalous invective, made a tragical complaint of persecutions in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, which form the diocese of Norwich, it was evident to every unprejudiced observer, that the bishop had not exercised any unnecessary strictness. Notwithstanding the general progress of Puritanism in that district, there were not above thirty clergymen, lecturers included, that lay under any sort of ecclesiastical censure. Of these but sixteen were suspended, and of these sixteen, eight had their restraints discharged, and were referred to a further time of trial. And yet Wren was the man Burton represented to his auditors as a greater persecutor than Bloody Mary. (Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 770, 771; and Archbishop Laud's Annual Account of his province, 1636–1637.)

Juxon and Wren seem to have been remarkably associated in labours. They appear to have been the special referees of the archbishop in all cases of difficulty; and doubtless, too, because they possessed the confidence of the king. From Wilson's Merchant Taylors', p. 691, we learn that about this time several captives who had been ransomed, returning to their respective homes in the neighbourhood of Exeter, the bishop of that diocese was somewhat at a loss with what penance and form these people, who had renounced Christianity, might be re-admitted into the Church. But his lordship having acquainted the archbishop with his embarrassment, it was referred to Bishop Juxon, Bishop Wren, and another prelate, to draw up an office of penance and re-

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conciliation of a renegade or apostate from the Christian religion to Turcism. And shortly after the form which they agreed upon was regularly approved by the archbishop and confirmed by his Majesty.[1]

In the beginning of the year 1640, Laud gave in to the king the last account of his province which the disturbed state of public affairs permitted. From this it appears that about a twelvemonth before there had been a warm contest in the pulpit between Goodwin, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman-street, and some other city ministers. The subject of their dispute was touching the act of believing, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness in the justification of a sinner. And the people, it seems, were very much entangled and uneasy with this controversy. The matter had been taken up by Juxon and his chancellor, and the parties had promised to be quiet. But Goodwin had lately broken his engagement, and preached the laity into their former scruples. However, Juxon, with that charity which 'hopeth all things,' did not despair of a favourable issue. Norwich was now as conformable as any part of the kingdom—a reformation principally owing to the indefatigable exertions of Wren while he presided over that diocese. And had not the rebellion come on about this time, it is highly probable that that active prelate would have been no less successful in administering the ecclesiastical government of Ely, to which See he had been translated. But, under existing circumstances, he could do little more than certify his Metropolitan of the irregularities he lamented; among which he stated that the rooms used for chapels at Emmanuel, Sidney-Sussex, and Corpus Christi Colleges in Cambridge, had never been consecrated; and that a patron of a vicarage had pulled down a church, sold or appropriated the materials, and forced

[1] This excellent form may be seen in the collection of records at the end of the second volume of Collier's Eccl. Hist., No. CXII.

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the parishioners to go to another church too small for their accommodation. (Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 791.)

Wren had enjoyed the bishopric of Ely little more than two years, when, the day after the impeachment of Archbishop Laud on December 9, 1640, Mr. Hampden was sent with a message to the House of Peers, to acquaint their lordships that the Commons had received information of a very high nature against Matthew Wren, Lord Bishop of Ely, for setting up idolatry and superstition in divers places, and acting some things of that nature in his own person; and also to signify, that having heard of his endeavours to escape out of the kingdom, it was the desire of that House that some course might be taken for his putting in security to be forthcoming and abide the judgment of Parliament. Upon this, Wren being ordered to withdraw, the Lords decreed him to give £10,000 bail, to which, being called in, he consented, hoping to get friends to be bound with him. He gave a bond of £10,000 at present for his daily appearance; and on the 22nd of that month, the Bishops of Bangor, Peterborough, and Llandaff became bound with him in the same penalty for his forthcoming and standing to the judgment of the House of Lords. (Biographia Britannica, art. Wren.)

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CHAPTER IV.

Dr. Juxon resigns his office of Lord Treasurer.—Progress of the serious troubles in Church and State — The Beginning of the End.

We proceed to notice in this chapter the results of the preceding beginnings of trial, lamentation, and woe in Church and State—the culmination of those events which ended in the total abrogation of Church and State, and the entrance of misrule, anarchy, and confusion.

The troubles beginning to increase, Juxon, in the course of May, 1641, resigned his treasurer's staff (Whitelocke's Mem. p. 46), wisely perceiving that it would be unsafe to stand in so high and obnoxious a post any longer. During the five years he had enjoyed the treasurership, he had by his prudent management lodged in the Exchequer no less a sum than £900,000. (R. Coke's Detection, edit. 1719, vol. i. p. 324.) And so well were the public convinced of the integrity with which he had discharged his office, that not a single accusation was brought against him in Parliament, though the demagogues of the day were always ready enough to receive complaints against any of the bishops. (Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, edit. 1701, p. 95.) Nay, Lord Falkland, in his bitter speech against the Episcopal Bench, could not but give this fair testimony to Juxon, 'that in an unexpected place and power he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the crozier or white staff.' (Cyprianus Anglicanus, p. 285.)[1]

[1] Upon the resignation of Dr. Juxon as Lord Treasurer, the office was put in commission, and five commissioners appointed to execute it.

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But though Juxon was determined to withdraw from the storm, he did not shrink from giving his advice to the king, as he had always done, with plainness and sincerity—advice which, if followed, might have kept his Majesty from ruin. Charles being much perplexed between the clamours of a discontented people and an unsatisfied conscience, upon the Parliament's tendering to him the two bills for the attainder of the Earl of Strafford and the continuance of that Parliament, which they did on Saturday, May 8, at the Banqueting-house, took advice of the judges and of several of the bishops what he should do in so intricate an affair. The king's most intimate counsellors, urged on by the queen's affairs, pressed him to comply with the votes of the Parliament, alleging that no other expedient could be found out to appease the enraged people, and that the consequences of a furious multitude would be very terrible. In this opinion the judges coincided. Even the major part of the bishops gave the same advice—Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, in particular making a distinction between a private and a public conscience.[1] Only Juxon was honest enough to tell his Majesty that he ought not, upon any considerations in the world, to do anything against his conscience, and that if he were not satisfied of Strafford's guilt, he ought not to give his assent to the bill of attainder. Juxon's advice was not taken, and the king's affairs were ruined. For the party gathered strength, and emboldened by their success against Strafford, began to look out for another victim (Wren, Bishop of Ely).

In proof that his Majesty was used to consult Juxon and be guided by his counsels, Sir Philip Warwick relates the following anecdote:—

'I remember' (says he) 'that the king, being busy in

[1] The bishops who thus coincided were Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh; Morton, Bishop of Durham; Potter of Carlisle; and Williams of Lincoln. (See Lloyd's Memoirs of those that Suffered, p. 44; Clarendon's Hist. Rebell. vol. i. p. 257; Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 45.)

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despatching some letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on the bishop and to bring him back his opinion in a certain affair. I humbly prayed his Majesty that I might rather bring him with me, lest I should not express his Majesty's sense fully, nor bring back his so significantly as he meant it—and because there might be need for him further to explain himself—and lest he should not speak freely to me. To which the king replied, "Go, as I bid you—if he will speak freely to anybody, he will speak freely to you. This (the king said) I will say of him—I never got his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it, I was ever the better for it."' (Sir Ph. Warwick's Memoirs, pp. 95, 96. See also Lord Clarendon's Hist. edit. 1732, vol. i. p. 210.)

It has also been often and well observed, that if the king had stood immovable in the case of Strafford, he would never have been plunged into those miseries which he and his kingdom shortly after fell into. His Majesty's reflections, when too late, are a tribute to the soundness of Juxon's judgment:—

'It is a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salve state-sores—to calm the storms of popular discontent, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom. Nor hath God's justice failed, in the cruel and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that maxim—"*Better that one man perish* (*though unjustly*) *than the people be displeased or destroyed.*" In all likelihood' (adds he) 'I could never have suffered with my people greater calamities, yet with greater comfort, had I vindicated Strafford's innocence, at least by denying to sign that destructive bill, according to that justice which my conscience suggested to me, than I have done since I gratified some men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favour. And I have deserved that those who counselled me to sign that bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that no men have been harassed and crushed more

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than they. *He only* (Juxon) hath been least vexed by them who counselled me not to consent against the voice of my conscience.' (Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, ch. ii.)

To which last fact Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 596, appends a striking note of explanation, that 'though Juxon shared the common fate of the episcopal clergy, he was spared longer than any of his brethren, not being deprived till 1649. He enjoyed the greatest tranquillity of any man in the three kingdoms throughout the calamities of the civil wars. He continued mostly undisturbed, till the death of the king, at his house at Fulham; where he was sometimes visited by the greatest persons, and found respect from all, retaining by his genteel and inoffensive behaviour the favour of the populace as well as of his prince.'

On July 5, 1642, Wren, Bishop of Ely, was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours by the House of Commons, who, having voted him unfit and unworthy to hold or exercise any office or dignity in the Church or commonwealth, resolved likewise, that a message be sent to the Lords, desiring them to join with the Commons in a petition to his Majesty, to remove him both from his person and service. And on July 20, twenty-four articles of impeachment were delivered to that House by Sir Thos. Widdrington. Most of them indeed were too trifling to deserve notice. The substance of them amounted to no more than that the bishop pressed conformity and executed the discipline of the Church. But the circumstances in which he was placed required him to make a reply to the charges brought against him. And therefore, as soon as his lordship received notice to prepare for his trial on a day appointed, he composed a long and nervous defence of himself with great courage and serenity of mind. But this being put into the hands of a lawyer, his reputed friend, for his advice on some points and forms of law, that person, though strictly enjoined to secrecy, discovering on the perusal some things which he conceived might be very

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expedient for the prosecutors to be forewarned of, delivered up all the chief papers to the chief persons in power; whereupon the resolution of bringing him to trial for his life was countermanded, and an order made by the House of Commons to continue him in prison in the Tower during pleasure.

That the reader may form some notion of the state of the times, we insert here a note from the *Parentalia*, speaking of the kind of charges preferred against Bishop Wren; while at the same time it is profitable to compare these accusations with the irregularities mentioned by the bishop in the diocese of Norwich, inserted in p. 23:—

'As a specimen of the articles of impeachment and of his lordship's answer, the enquirer may take the nineteenth charge, "that to manifest his popish affections, he caused a crucifix to be engraven on his episcopal seal;" to which he replied by allowing that the crucifix was engraven on his episcopal seal, but denying that it was done with any popish affection. He asserts "that the said figure upon his seal did itself declare what affection it was to manifest, for there was this posy engraven with it—ἐν τῷ κόσμος ἐμοὶ, κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ—being taken from *Galatians* vi. 14, and applied to the same purpose and used with the same affection that St. Paul then used the same—'God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.' In an holy imitation whereof this defendant, who beareth divers coats of arms (as the use is) upon the said seal, viz. the arms of the See of Norwich and of Hereford, the Deanery of Windsor, and the Mastership of Peter House, together with his own paternal coat of arms of an ancient descent—considering with himself that these were emblems all, and badges but of worldly and temporal glories, and desiring that the world should have a right apprehension of him, and to testify that he did no ways glory in anything of this transitory world, but humbly endeavoured to wean himself from all temporal and vain rejoicings, he therefore caused such a

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small figure of Christ on the Cross to be set *over* the said coats, as professing by that as he was only to preach Christ crucified (1 Cor. i. 23), and that as he esteemed not to know anything but Jesus Christ and Him crucified (1 Cor. ii. 2), so much more he had, and still would strive to take joy in none of these his honours and preferments, as they were human and worldly; but only would use them so as if he had them not, and as if he was dead and crucified to them and they to him: but that his whole study and rest and rejoicing should be in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, and unto it he would cause all his worldly estate, public and private, to stoop and do service." He then proceeds to declare that this was all the affection intended by him, according to those words of the Heavenly Spouse to His Church—"*Pone me ut sigillum supra cor tuum.*" (Cant. viii. 6.) That it could not be done out of any popish affection, since he had set his seal to the certificate of his presentments at the assizes in Suffolk of two hundred popish recusants. He concludes that though the said seal lay all the year locked up in a chest but at the time of sealing, and that when any sealing was there was no worship done by any one, and that as soon as he understood that any had taken scruples at it, he presently, to avoid all pretence of scandal, caused the said seal to be altered and the figure of Christ to be wholly omitted.'

Contemporaneous with these distressing events in the Church, were also similar corresponding portents in the State, hurrying on the entire demolition of both Church and State.

In the early part of this year 1642, during the debates about the Militia Bill, Whitelocke made a speech, wherein he declared it as his opinion that the power of the Militia was not in the king alone, nor in the Parliament, but jointly in both; which sufficiently shews how unwilling he was to arm the nation against their prince. But all accommodation about that important matter proved impracticable. Whitelocke, indeed, apprehensive of the ensuing miseries and troubles, spoke decidedly against an army for the pretended

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defence of Parliament, and sensibly described the calamities of a civil war. But being of too flexible a disposition, as will appear by the sequel, he suffered himself to be drawn away by the torrent. Accordingly in the month of May he accepted the office of Deputy-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Oxford, and having a gallant company of horse under his command, he dispersed the Commissioners of Array at Watlington. On this he marched to Oxford, of which he was named a fit person to be governor, on account of his acquaintance with the principal persons in the university, city, and county. But the Lord Say, Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, did not approve the scheme of placing a garrison in that quarter. However, it is much to be lamented that from this juncture Whitelocke became deeply implicated in opposing the king, though he never ceased to labour for peace. (Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 38–55.)

The speech of Whitelocke thus alluded to is so remarkable in itself, as well as fully representing the state of the times, that it has been thought not out of place to transfer it here. He said :—

" Mr. Speaker,—The question which was last propounded about raising of forces, namely, a general and officers of an army, hath been very rare, before this time, in this assembly, and it seems to me to set us at the pit's brink, ready to plunge ourselves into an ocean of troubles and miseries, and, if it could be, into more than a civil war brings with it. Give me leave, Sir, to consider this unhappy subject in the beginning, progress, and issue of it. Cæsar tells us (and he knew as much of civil war as any man before him), that it cannot be begun *sine malis artibus*. Surely, Sir, our enemies of the Popish Church have left no evil arts unessayed to bring us to our present posture, and will yet leave none unattempted to make our breaches wider, well knowing that nothing will more advance their empire than our divisions. Our misery, whom they account heretics, is their joy, and our destruction will be their glory, and all

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evil arts and ways to bring calamities upon us they will esteem meritorious. But, Sir, I look upon another thing as the beginning of our civil war. God blessed us with a long and flourishing peace, and we turned His grace into wantonness, and peace would not satisfy us without luxury, nor our plenty without debauchery. Instead of sobriety and thankfulness for our mercies, we provoked the Giver of them by our sins and wickedness to punish us (as we may fear) by a civil war, to make us executioners of Divine vengeance upon ourselves. It is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into this beginning of a civil war by one unexpected incident after another — as waves of the sea which have brought us thus far—and we scarce knew how; but from paper combats, by declarations, remonstrances, protestations, votes, messages, answers, and replies, we are now come to the question of raising forces and naming a general and officers of an army. But what, Sir, may be the progress hereof, the poet tells us—

> "Jusque datum sceleri canimus, populumque potentem
> In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra."

We must surrender up our laws, liberties, properties, lives, into the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose rage and violence will command us and all we have, and reason, honour, and justice will leave our land; the ignoble will rule the noble, and baseness will be preferred before virtue, profaneness before piety. Of a potent people, we shall make ourselves weak, and be the instruments of our own ruin—*perditio tua ex te* will be said to us—we shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins, and eat our own bowels. You will hear other sounds besides those of drums and trumpets, the clattery of armour, the roaring of guns, the groanings of wounded and dying men—the shrieks of deflowered women, the cries of widows and orphans; and all on your account, which makes it the more to be lamented. Pardon, Sir, the warmth of my expression in this argument; it is to prevent a flame which I see kindled in the midst of us, that may consume us to

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ashes. The sum of the progress of civil war is the rage of fire and sword, and (which is worse) of brutish men. What the issue of it will be, no man alive can tell; probably few of us now here may live to see the end of it. It hath been said, "He that draws his sword against his prince must throw away the scabbard!"—those differences are scarce to be reconciled—those commotions are like the deep seas, being once stirred up, are not soon appeased. I wish the observation of the Duke of Rohan, in his "Interest of Christendom," may prove a caution, not a prophecy. He saith of England, "that it is a great creature, which cannot be destroyed but by its own hand." And there is not a more likely hand than that of civil war to do it. The issue of all war is like a cast at dice, none can tell upon what square the *alea belli* will light. The best issue that can be expected of a civil war—*Ubi victor flet, et victus perit*—which of these will be our portion is uncertain, and the choice would be avoided. Yet, Sir, when I have said this, I am not for a tame resignation of our religion, lives, and liberties into the hands of our adversaries, who seek to devour us. Nor do I think it inconsistent with your great wisdom to prepare for a just and necessary defence of them. It was truly observed by a noble gentleman, "that if our enemies find us provided to resist their attempts upon us, it will be the likeliest to bring them to an accord with us." And upon this ground I am for the question. But I humbly move you to consider whether it be not yet too soon to come to it. We have tried by proposals of peace to his Majesty, and they have been rejected. Let us try again, and appoint a committee who may review our former propositions. And when they find the matter of them (as our affairs now are) fit to be altered, that they present the alterations to the House, and their opinions; and that, as far as may stand with the security of us and our cause, we may yield our endeavours to prevent the miseries which look black upon us, and to settle a good accommodation, so that there may be no strife between us and those of the other party, for we are brethren." (*Vide* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 60.)

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This cautious, prophetic speech was not attended to. Matters grew worse day by day, till at length all hopes of reconciliation seemed to be cut off. It was not long after that Bishop Wren and eleven other prelates, who had been impeached by the Commons and sent to the Tower, were admitted to bail by the House of Peers. Nor, as Collier tells us, were their lordships ever called to stand trial—a clear evidence that they had done nothing unwarrantable by law, since, if they had offended, their enemies would not have failed to prosecute them. Wren, however, had harder fortune than his brethren, for, some few months after his enlargement, he was seized by a party of soldiers at his house at Downham, near Ely, and carried back to the Tower, where he continued till the end of the year 1659, without any charge being brought against him. (Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 818, 819.)

The civil war had now attained proportions which very few had expected. We still find Whitelocke on the side of peace; for, in March 1644, the king being then at Oxford, whither he had summoned a council or parliament, Whitelocke and Hollis were sent there to hold a conference with his Majesty on terms of peace, but with no result. The conditions of the Parliament appear at this period to have increased upon the prospects of their success. The commissioners at this time seem to have counselled the king to return to London and meet his Parliament; but this advice the king rejected.

Things proceeded quite in the direction of no conciliation. As the Parliament grew stronger, so they proceeded to the most outrageous measures. In October 1646, two years later, we find the two Houses acting in perfect concert; for they made an ordinance abolishing the name, dignity, and function of all archbishops and bishops, alienated their lands and settled them in trustees, and not long after ordered them to be sold for the payment of debts and discharging the

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public faith. And thus, while Juxon and Wren and the other surviving prelates of the Church were stripped of their possessions, the Presbyterian preachers, who had expected to raise their fortunes upon the ruins of Episcopacy, found themselves disappointed by the plunder being lodged in other men's coffers. The two Houses had bought the king from the covenanting Scots for £200,000, and wanted to be furnished for paying the purchase-money. (Collier, vol. ii. p. 843.)

About this period we are told that General Monk, who commanded an Irish brigade in the king's service, was taken prisoner, after the siege of Nantwich, by the rebels, and sent to the Tower. There he fell in with Bishop Wren, who used the opportunity of strengthening the general in his loyalty, and no doubt inculcated those principles which laid the foundation of the general's future line in the happy Restoration. (*Vide* Wilson's Merchant Taylors', vol. ii. p. 720.)

It was at this peculiar and distressing stage of the king's affairs that we learn an incident hitherto unknown. It appears that his Majesty in his perplexity thought it meet to consult his old and tried friend Dr. Juxon on his peculiar and unhappy circumstances. The subject in the main was his coronation oath—how far he could conscientiously sanction the present overthrow of the Church, and acquiesce in the new order of things. Whether the king wrote to Dr. Juxon, or sent a friend to him to confer on the state of his mind in his serious and perplexing troubles, we cannot tell, so far as the author of these memoirs has been able to gather. But that some communication was made there cannot be a doubt. Dr. Juxon, as we have been informed, retired to his house at Fulham, and there had the opportunity of meeting and consulting with the royalist party. It is therefore quite possible that in such interviews the king's views and difficulties were made known to him. Be this as it

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may, we have a document which furnishes us with the only clue in the matter, and which distinctly speaks of some communication, and a reply furnished. The following letter will therefore be read with great interest. The author obtained it in the Bodleian at Oxford, from Tanner's Papers, vol. ii. 59, fol. 560. It is as follows, and is signed both by Juxon and by Brian (Duppa, Bishop) of Sarum:—

'May it please your Majesty,

'In obedience to your Majesty's demands, we have advised upon the proposition and your Majesty's doubts arising thereon; and according to our duty and your Majesty's strict charge laid upon it, we shall deliver our opinions and the sense we have of it plainly and freely to the best of our understanding, nor shall we fail in point of duty however we may in judgment.

'The doubt is touching the lawfulness of a temporary compliance in matters of religion in the state that now here stand, that is (as we apprehend it), whether your Majesty may, without breach of your oath and with a safe conscience, permit for some time the exercise of the Directory for worship and practice of discipline, as they are now used, and stand enjoined by ordinance.

'For resolution whereof, we shall take the boldness to make use of those grounds which we find laid to our hands in your Majesty's directions. For your Majesty's constancy and fixedness of resolution not to recede from what you have by oath undertaken in that matter, as it gives us a great latitude to walk in with safety of conscience in your endeavour to that end, the rectitude of intention abating much of the obliquity in all accounts; so the full expression you have been now pleased to make of it, and that what your purpose at present is—*in ordine*—thereunto, doth much facilitate the work and fit use for a resolution. Taking therefore your Majesty's settled determination touching the Church for a foundation immovable, and this proposition (in your Majesty's design) as a means subservient thereunto; considering also the condition your Majesty's affairs now stand in, being

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destitute of all means compulsory, or of regaining what is lost by force; we cannot conceive in this your Majesty's condescension, in a violation of that oath, whereof your Majesty is so justly tender, but that your Majesty doth thereby still continue to preserve and protect the Church by the best way and means you have left you (which is all the oath can be supposed to require), and that the permission intended (whereby in some men's apprehensions your Majesty may seem to throw down what you desire to build up) is not only by your Majesty levelled to that end, but as your Majesty stands persuaded, probably fitted for your effecting it in some measure.

'And as your Majesty will stand clear in our judgment at least in respect of your oath, which is principally to be regarded, so neither do we think your Majesty will herein trespass in point of conscience, because your Majesty, finding them already settled and as it were in possession, do only (what in other cases is usual) not disturb that possession, while the differences are in bearing, or which is more justifiable, permit that which you cannot hinder if you would; not commanding it (for that may vary the case), but which possibly may be better liked, leaving it upon that foot it now stands enjoined by authority of the Houses, which is found strong enough to enforce obedience; which intendment of your Majesty would stand more clear if this point of a temporary toleration were not laid as the principle of the proposition (as it now may seem to be standing in the front), but as an accessory and necessary concession for the more peaceable proceeding in the business.

'The first part, therefore, in the proposition might be for the accommodation of differences by a debate between parties (as it lies in the proposition), and then that during that debate, all things remain *statu quo nunc* without any interruption or disturbance from your Majesty, provided that the debate be determined and a settlement be made within such a time, &c., and that your Majesty and your household be not hindered, &c.; which, notwithstanding, we humbly submit to your Majesty's better judgment to alter or not. We cannot

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but have a lively sense of the great troubles your Majesty undergoes, and doubt not but that God, who hath hitherto given you patience in them, will bless you with a deliverance out of them in due time, and make the event of your constant endeavours answerable to the integrity of your Majesty's heart; which is the prayer of

'Your Majesty's

'Most obedient humble Servants,

'GUIL. LONDON,

'BR. SARUM.

'*Fulham, Oct.* 14, 1646.'

After these events we have no particular record to make. The king's affairs continued to grow worse. In 1648, or two years later, we find his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, whither he had escaped from Hampton Court after his sad reverses, and taken refuge; but where he was made prisoner by the governor. At this period, however, we hear of Dr. Juxon being there. It appears that some hopes of a treaty between the King and the Parliament were indulged in. Accordingly, commissioners from both Houses were sent to the Isle of Wight on this mission. Bishop Juxon was one of the divines who attended his Majesty for the purpose of resolving any difficulty that might arise in the debate. But all the king's concessions were voted unsatisfactory, and the treaty broke off. (Sir Phil. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 321; and Collier, vol. ii. pp. 885, 859.)

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CHAPTER V.

The sad wind-up of these troublous Times.—The fearful Tragedy.—Dr. Juxon the continued and devoted Friend of the King to the last.

THE last scene of England's dismal tragedy was now beginning to open—a scene so replete with horror, that many of those who had gone upon Calvin's false principles, and justified the war upon religious grounds, shrunk from offering personal violence to the king. Calamy, who had at a later period given many instances of his dislike of the proceedings which followed Charles's being brought from the Isle of Wight, opposed the projected murder of his sovereign with constancy and courage. He and some other ministers of the same persuasion had two conferences, one with the general and his council, the other with the chief officers of the army, in order to prevent, if possible, that dreadful outrage. But they not succeeding in their endeavours, a representation was drawn up by the London ministers, to enforce what Calamy had said. And, on this occasion, John Wells and Benjamin Needler joined their Presbyterian brethren in remonstrating against the trial of their monarch. But the bloody deed was resolved on, and all these attempts proved abortive.

On January 21, 1649, Dr. Juxon, by his Majesty's particular desire, waited upon him at Westminster, (which as the king said) 'was no small refreshing to his spirit in that his uncomfortable condition.' The greater part of that day was spent by the good bishop in prayer and preaching to the king; and in the course of the following week he frequently

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waited on his Majesty. On the 27th, the last day of the king's trial, and before he was carried into Westminster Hall, he and Juxon were in private together at Cotton House near an hour; during which conference the persecuted Charles acquired a sufficiency of ghostly strength to enable him to bear unmoved the cries of the infatuated mob for justice and execution, as he passed to and from the Hall. Whitelocke was much troubled at the passing of sentence of death against the king, and prayed that it might not be executed. But God had destined Charles for a crown of martyrdom. The same night Col. Hacker, who commanded the Guards at St. James's about the king, would have placed two musketeers in his bedchamber, but the bishop (Juxon) and Mr. Herbert, apprehending the disturbance it would give his Majesty in his meditations, never left the colonel till he had reversed his order, by withdrawing those men. (Wilson's Merchant Taylors'.)

From a book containing the trial of the king, as well as of the regicides, the author has been enabled to cull some striking particulars, more in detail.

It appears that proclamation for the trial of the king was made, pursuant to order of the commissioners and of the rump of the House of Commons, on January 9, 1649. The trial commenced on January 20. John Bradshaw, Sergeant-at-Law, was Lord President. The commissioners were sixty-six in number, of whom Cromwell is first named. They proceeded from the Painted Chamber to open the Court in Westminster Hall, whither the king was brought, as we have noticed. The king strongly persisting against their authority to try him, caused some delay as well as annoyance. The Court was adjourned from day to day, and the king transmitted under guard to Whitehall. The proceedings of the last day will furnish us with as much as is necessary to give our readers an outline of the affair :—

'*The King*. I would desire only one word before you give

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sentence. I desire that you would hear me concerning those great imputations that you have laid to my charge.

'*Bradshaw.* Sir, you must give me now leave to go on; for I am not far from your sentence, and your time is now past.

'*The King.* But I shall desire you will hear me a few words to you; for truly, whatever sentence you will put upon me in respect of those heavy imputations, that I see by your speech you have put upon me. Sir, it is very true that—

'*Bradshaw.* Sir, I must put you in mind—Truly, Sir, I would not willingly, at this time especially, interrupt you in anything you have to say, that is proper for us to admit of; but, Sir, you have not owned us as a Court, and *you look upon us as a sort of people met together;* and we *know what language we receive from your party.*[1]

'*The King.* I know nothing of that.

'*Bradshaw.* You disavow us as a Court; and therefore for you to address yourself to us, not acknowledging us as a Court to judge of what you say, it is not to be permitted. And the truth is, all along, from the first time you were pleased to disavow and disown us, the Court needed not to have heard you one word: for, unless they be acknowleged a Court, and engaged, it is not proper for you to speak. Sir, we have given you too much liberty already, and admitted of too much delay, and we may not admit of any further. Were it proper for us to do it, we should hear you freely; and we should not have declined to hear you at large, what you could have said or proved on your behalf, whether for totally excusing, or for in part excusing, those great and heinous charges that in whole or in part are laid upon you. But, Sir, I shall trouble you no longer: your sins are of so large a dimension, that if you do but seriously think of them, they may improve in you a sad and serious repentance: and that the Court doth heartily wish that you may be so penitent for what you have done amiss, that God may have mercy, at least-wise, upon your

[1] To men who must have been conscious of the utter want of lawful authority for their acts, the king's determinate denial of their jurisdiction must not only have occasioned much difficulty in their proceedings, but must have inflicted an unpardonable wound on their pride, and a sting on their consciences.

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better part: truly, Sir, for the other, it is our part and duties to do that which the law prescribes. We are here not *jus dare*, but *jus discere*. We cannot be unmindful of what the Scripture tell us, "For to acquit the guilty is of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent"—we may not acquit the guilty. What sentence the law affirms to a traitor, tyrant, a murderer, and a public enemy to the country, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you—and that is the sentence of the Court.

'Make an O-yes, and command silence while the sentence is read.—Which done,

'The clerk read the sentence. It recited the act of the Commons establishing the Court, and the charge exhibited before it against the king; his Majesty's refusal to answer, or to admit the Court's jurisdiction: that the Court had therefore given judgment against him for his contumacy; but, for further and clearer satisfaction, had examined witnesses on oath touching the charge; and it alleged that, on mature deliberation of the premises, and consideration had of the notoriety of the matters of fact charged on the prisoner, the Court was in conscience satisfied that the said Charles Stuart was guilty of levying war against the parliament and people, and by the general course of his government, counsels, and practices before and since the parliament began (which had been and are notorious and public) the Court was fully satisfied in their conscience that he was guilty of the wicked designs and endeavours in the charge set forth; and that he had been, and was, the occasioner, author, and continuer of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars, and therein guilty of high treason, and of the murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damages, and mischiefs to this nation acted and committed in the said war, and occasioned thereby. "For all which treasons and crimes this Court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death, by severing his head from his body."

'Bradshaw then said—"The sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the

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whole Court:" to which all the commissioners expressed their assent by standing up, as had been before arranged in the Painted Chamber. The king, who during the reading of the sentence had smiled, and more than once lifted up his eyes to heaven, then said, "Will you hear me a word, Sir."

'*Bradshaw.* Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence.

'*The king.* No, Sir?

'*Bradshaw.* No, Sir, by your favour.—Guards, withdraw your prisoner.

'*The king.* I may speak after the sentence, by your favour, Sir. I may speak after the sentence, *ever.* By your favour—

'*Bradshaw.* Hold!

'*The king.* The sentence, Sir. I say, Sir, I do—

'*Bradshaw.* Hold!

'*The king.* I am not suffered to speak. *Expect what justice the people will have!*'[1]

As the king uttered these words, he was removed from the Court by the guard. In passing down into the Hall, he was compelled to endure the insults and scoffs of a few of the soldiers. Some cast the smoke of their tobacco into his face (an odour peculiarly disgusting to him at all times); others threw their pipes in his way, and one inhuman wretch had the brutality to spit in his Majesty's face,[2] of which he took no notice, but calmly wiped his face with his handkerchief. As he passed along, hearing the rabble and the soldiery crying out 'Justice! Justice! Execution!' (to which they were instigated by Colonel Axtell and other officers[3]), he mildly said to Herbert, his attendant, 'Poor souls! for a piece of

[1] Ludlow, one of the most determined of the regicides, apologises for silencing the king after the sentence by a legal fiction absurdly misapplied. 'The king would have spoken something before he was withdrawn; but being *accounted dead in law* immediately after sentence pronounced, it was not permitted.' (Memoirs, p. 121.)

[2] See Trials of the Regicides, State Trials, vol. v.

[3] Augustine Garland, one of the commissioners (an Essex man, elected member of Parliament in 1648) who signed the king's sentence, and who was tried and hanged in 1660 for this treason, was charged with committing this brutal indignity; but he solemnly denied it, and the evidence is not very conclusive.

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money they would do the same for their commanders.' He was first conducted, as usual, to Sir Robert Cotton's, but was immediately removed from thence in a sedan chair, with a strong guard, by the Privy Gardens, to Whitehall, where he remained till the night before his execution, when he slept at St. James's. Sir Thomas Herbert, who was with Charles, says the files of soldiers through which he passed were silent; but the stalls, shops, and windows were filled with people, many of whom shed tears, and many with an audible voice prayed for the king. One soldier, unlike his companions, called to the king, 'God bless you, Sir!' for which sin his officer struck him repeatedly with his cane. On which the king observed, 'Methinks the punishment exceeds the offence.'

On the evening of the day on which he received sentence (Saturday, January 27) the king sent a message to the commissioners, desiring that his children might be brought to him, and that Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, might attend to read and pray with him, and to administer the Holy Sacrament to him; which requests were, with some little hesitation, granted. On Sunday, the 28th, he was attended by a guard from Whitehall to St. James's, when the Bishop of London preached before him on these words (Rom. ii. 16), 'In the day when God shall judge the secrets of all men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.' After the service, the king received the Sacrament; and he spent the rest of the day in private devotion, and in conferences with the bishop (Juxon), declining to admit any visitors, even the Prince Elector, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and others who came to pay their last duties to their monarch. The king said, 'My time is short and precious. I hope they will not take it ill that none have access to me but my children. The best office they can now do me is to pray for me.' The next day Charles underwent the cruel pang of separating from his two children (who alone were in England), Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who was about seven years of age, and the Princess Elizabeth, who was

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about thirteen.[1] Their interview with him was long, tender, and afflicting; and evinced not more the warmth and depth of the king's domestic affections, than that perpetual and conscientious regard to the principles belonging to his station, and that fervent piety which ever animated his conduct. He bade the Lady Elizabeth tell her mother that his thoughts had never strayed from her, and that his love should be the same to the last; and begged her to remember to tell her brother James, whenever she should see him, 'that it was his father's last desire that after his death he should no longer look on his brother Charles merely as his elder brother, but should be obedient to him as his sovereign; and that they should both love one another, and forgive their father's enemies. But,' said the king to her, 'sweetheart, you will forget this.' 'No,' said she, 'I will never forget it as long as I live.' He prayed her not to grieve for him, for he should die a glorious death, it being for the laws and liberties of the land, and for maintaining the true Protestant religion. He charged her to

[1] The Duke of York, then about fifteen years of age, had escaped from St. James's a few months before, at the recommendation of Charles, and by the assistance of Colonel Bamfield. The duke, in descending into the garden, knocked against a door in the palace, and feared an alarm; 'but no alarm being taken, he ventures down and out of the door by the Tilt-yard end, where Colonel Bamfield attended *with a periwig and black patches*, which the duke having put on, they hie to Spring Gardens, *as gallants come to hear the nightingale*, and, being passed through that, enter into a coach.' At Greenwich, whither they proceeded on board a vessel, the colonel was unluckily recognised by a barge-master, and he was espied tying on the duke's garter, which, as the prince had before 'shifted into gentlewoman's clothes,' was considered extraordinary; and they with difficulty, by threats and promises, persuaded the captain to proceed with them. Rainsborough's squadron, which lay in the Downs, occasioned them some alarm; but they arrived safe at Middleburgh, where the prince slept, 'and gave much wonder to the hostess that a young gentlewoman would not let the maids help her to bed, but be served by a pretended brother in the same chamber in another bed.' On arriving at Maesland Sluys, the Prince of Orange came on board to his brother-in-law; and on landing, 'the Princess Royal came to the street-door to embrace her brother, the affectionateness of which meeting,' says an eye-witness, 'I cannot express.' (See a letter to Mr. Secretary Nicholas in the Appendix to Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii.)

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forgive those people, but never to trust them; for they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared also to their own souls. He then urged her to read Bishop Andrewes' Sermons, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, and Archbishop Laud's Book against Fisher, which would strengthen her faith, and confirm her in a pious attachment to the Church of England and an aversion to Popery; and in remembrance of him he gave her two seals set with diamonds. Then taking the Duke of Gloucester on his knee, the king said to him, 'Sweetheart, now they will cut off thy father's head,' (upon which words the child looked very stedfastly and earnestly at him). 'Mark, child, what I say, they will cut off my head, and perhaps make thee a king; but mark me, you must not be a king so long as your brothers, Charles and James, do live; for they will cut off your brothers' heads when they can catch them, and cut off thy head at last too; and therefore I charge you, do not be made a king by them.' At which the child said earnestly, 'I will be torn in pieces first:' which ready reply from so young an infant filled the king's eyes with tears of admiration and pleasure. At parting, the king commanded them both to be obedient to their mother, and bade the Lady Elizabeth send his blessing to the rest of her brothers and sisters, with his commendation to all his friends.

The commissioners, to the number of forty-eight, met on the same day (Monday, January 29) in the Painted Chamber, when they pronounced an order that the king should be beheaded on the following day, in the open street before Whitehall, and drew up and engrossed the warrant for his execution, which many of them immediately signed. The warrant was as follows:—

'At the High Court of Justice, for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England, January 29, 1648.

'Whereas Charles Stuart, King of England, is, and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason, and other high crimes, and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced

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against him, by this Court, to be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body, of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done: these are therefore to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street before Whitehall upon the morrow, being the thirtieth day of this present month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect: and for so doing, this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers, and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service.

'Given under our hands and seals.'[1]

Then follow the signatures of fifty-nine commissioners, including Bradshaw, Lord Grey, Cromwell, Sir John Danvers, Ireton, Pride, Harrison, Waller, Say, Scroope, Ludlow, Marten, Ingoldsby, Ewers, Thos. Challoner, Scot, Carew, Corbet, &c.

The commissioners also made an order that the officers of the Ordnance within the Tower of London should deliver to Edward Dendy, Esq., the sergeant-at-arms, the bright axe for the executing of malefactors. They ordered five eminent ministers, Calamy, Vines, Caryll, Dell, and Goodwin, to be sent to the king for his spiritual assistance. Charles, who had chosen the bishop (Juxon) for that office, declined to receive them, but begged them to offer their prayers to God for him. They also gave orders that the king's scaffold should be covered with black.

On the morning of his death, Charles, according to the relation of his faithful attendant, Sir Thomas Herbert, awoke about two hours before day-break, after a sound sleep of about four hours. He called to Herbert, who lay on a pallet by his bedside, and bade him rise; 'For,' said the king, 'I will get

[1] The fact mentioned by Hume and Ludlow, that Oliver Cromwell and Henry Marten blacked each other's faces with a pen as they were signing the warrant in the Painted Chamber, was proved on oath by an eye-witness called Ewer, at the trial of Marten in 1660. (See State Trials, vol. v. 1200.) Marten in his defence said the fact did not imply malice.

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up, I have a great work to do this day.' He then gave orders what clothes he would wear, and said to his attendant, 'Let me have a shirt on more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp[1] as probably may make me shake, which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death—death is not terrible to me. I bless God I am prepared.' Soon after the king was dressed, Bishop Juxon came to him, according to his appointment the night before. He remained an hour in private with him, when Herbert was called in, and the bishop prayed with the king, using the prayers of the Church, and then read the 27th chapter of St. Matthew, which so beautifully describes the Passion of our Saviour. The king thanked the bishop for his choice of the lesson; but was surprised and gratified to learn that it was the lesson for the day according to the Calendar.

About ten o'clock Colonel Hacker knocked at the king's chamber-door, and, being admitted by Herbert, came in trembling, and announced to the king that it was time to go to Whitehall, where he might have further time to rest; and soon afterwards the king, taking the bishop (Juxon) by the hand, proposed to go. Charles then walked out through the garden of the palace into the park, where several companies of foot waited as his guard; and attended by the bishop on one side and Colonel Tomlinson on the other, both bare-headed, he walked fast down the park, sometimes cheerfully calling on the guard to 'march apace.' As he went along he said, 'he now went to strive for an heavenly crown with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his soldiers to fight for an earthly diadem.'

At the end of the park the king[2] went up the stairs leading

[1] The day was so piercing that the king, at the persuasion of Bishop Juxon, wore a cloak till the moment of his death.

[2] The late Sir Henry Englefield related a traditional anecdote, that Charles in passing through the park pointed out a tree near the entrance from Spring Gardens (where the cows at present stand), saying, 'That tree was planted by my brother Henry.'

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to the long gallery, and so into the Cabinet Chamber of the palace of Whitehall. Being delayed here in consequence of the scaffold not being ready, he offered up several prayers and entered into religious discourse with the bishop (Juxon). About twelve he ate some bread and drank a glass of claret, declining to dine after he had received the Sacrament.

When Charles arrived at Whitehall, the Colonels Hacker, Huncks, and Phayer produced to Tomlinson the warrant for his execution; and in the Horn Chamber the king was delivered by Tomlinson into the custody of those officers. Charles requested Tomlinson, however, to remain with him to the last, and acknowledged his kind and respectful conduct by presenting to him a gold tooth-picker and case which he carried in his pocket. Tomlinson also introduced to him Mr. Seymour, who brought a letter from the prince to his father, with whom the king conversed, and charged him with various messages for the prince.

In the meantime a different scene was passing in Ireton's chamber, a small room in another part of the palace. Ireton and Harrison were here in bed; and Cromwell, Axtell, Huncks, Hacker, and Phayer were present. Cromwell commanded Huncks to draw up an order to the executioner pursuant to the warrant for the king's execution. Huncks refused, whereupon Cromwell was highly incensed, and called him a peevish, froward fellow; and Axtell exclaimed, 'Colonel Huncks, I am ashamed of you; the ship is now coming into harbour, and will you strike sail before we come to anchor?' Cromwell then went to a table, and, as it would appear, wrote the order to the executioner, and then gave the pen to Hacker, who, as one of the officers charged with the execution of the warrant, signed it.[1] Cromwell and the rest of the officers then went out of the chamber, and in a few minutes Hacker came and knocked at the door of the

[1] See the evidence on the trials of Hacker, Axtell, and Hulet, State Trials, vol. v.

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chamber where the king was with Tomlinson, the bishop (Juxon), Herbert, and some of his guards. Herbert and the bishop were deeply affected at this signal for their final separation from their sovereign and master. The king stretched out his hand to them, which they kissed, falling on their knees and weeping, the king helping the aged bishop (Juxon, about 69) to rise. He then bade Hacker to open the door and he would follow. And he was conducted by Hacker, Tomlinson, and other officers and soldiers through the banqueting house by a passage broken through the wall, where the centre window now is.[1] A strong guard of several regiments of horse and foot being posted about the scaffold, so that the people could not approach near enough to hear any discourse from the king, he addressed his last sentences chiefly to the bishop (Juxon), Colonel Tomlinson, and the other officers who stood near him. They were in substance as follows:—

'I shall be very little heard of anybody else. I shall therefore speak a word to you here. Indeed, I could hold my peace very well, if I did not think that holding my peace would make some men think that I did submit to the guilt as well as to the punishment; but I think it is

[1] The street now called Parliament-street was at that time crossed by two ranges of buildings belonging to the palace of Whitehall, with wide arched gateways crossing the street and forming the public thoroughfare. One gateway was opposite to Privy Gardens, and there was a way over it from these gardens belonging to the palace, to pass into St. James's Park. The other building, traversing the street, was the sumptuous gallery of Whitehall built by Henry VIII, the scene of so many adventures and events of various descriptions in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and the two Charles's. Connected with this gallery was a 'beautiful gatehouse' over a noble archway. Lord Leicester says in his Journal (p. 60), 'The scaffold was erected between Whitehall Gate and the gallery leading to St. James's. Lilly asserts that it was just at the spot where the blood of a citizen had been shed at the commencement of the rebellion, when a mob was vociferating 'No Bishops' under the windows of the palace, and some cavaliers sallied out to disperse them, and one was killed. See Observations on the Life and Death of Charles, by W. Lilly, Student of Judicial Astrology, in Baron Masere's Tracts.

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my duty to God and my country to clear myself, both as an honest man, a good king, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my innocency. In troth, I think it not very needful to insist long upon this, for all the world knows that I never did begin a war with the two Houses of Parliament; and I call God to witness, to whom I must shortly make an account, that I did never intend to encroach upon their privileges. They began upon me. It is the militia they began upon. They confessed the militia was mine, but they thought fit to have it from me. And to be short, if anybody will look to the dates of commissions, of their commissions and of mine, and likewise to the declarations, he will see clearly that they began these troubles, not I. So that as for the guilt of these enormous crimes that are laid against me, I hope in God that God will clear me of it. God forbid I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament; there is no necessity of either. I hope they are free of this guilt, for I believe that ill-instruments between them and me have been the cause of all this bloodshed. So that as I find myself clear of this, I hope and pray God that they may too. Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say God's judgments are just upon me; many times He doth pay justice by an unjust sentence—that is ordinary. I will only say this, that an unjust sentence that I suffered to take effect is punished now by an unjust sentence upon me. So far I have said to shew you that I am an innocent man.

'Now, to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good man (pointing to Bishop Juxon) that will bear me witness that I have forgiven all the world, and even those in particular that have been the chief causes of my death. Who they are God knows; I do not desire to know. I pray God forgive them. But this is not all; my charity must go further. I wish that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular. I pray God, with St. Stephen, that it be not laid to their charge; nay, not only so, but that they may take the right way to the peace of the kingdom; for my charity commands

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me not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gasp the peace of the kingdom. Now, Sirs, believe it, you shall never go right, nor God will never prosper you, until you give God His due, the king his due (that is my successor), and the people their due. I am as much for them as any of you. You must give God His due by regulating rightly His Church according to the Scripture, which is now out of order. To set you in a way particularly now I cannot; but only this, a national synod freely called, freely debated among themselves, must settle this when every opinion is freely heard. For the king' (then turning to a gentleman that touched the axe he said, 'Hurt not the axe, that may hurt me'); 'indeed I will not— The laws of the land will clearly instruct you for that; therefore, because it concerns my own particular, I shall only give you a touch of it. For the people, truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as anybody whatsoever. But I must tell you, *that their liberty and freedom consist in having government, in having those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in the government*— that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clean different things; and therefore until you do that—I mean, that you put the people in that liberty —as I say, certainly they will never enjoy themselves.

'Sirs, it was for this that now I am come here. If I would have given way to an arbitrary way, to have all laws changed according to the power of the sword, I needed not to have come here; and therefore I tell you (and I pray God it be not laid to your charge) that I am the martyr of the people. In truth, Sirs, I shall not hold you much longer. I could have desired a little time longer, because I would have a little better digested this I have said, and therefore I hope you will excuse me. I have delivered my conscience. I pray God you take those courses that are the best for the good of the kingdom and your own salvation.'

The Bishop. 'Though your Majesty's affections may be very well known as to religion, yet it may be expected that

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you should say something thereof for the world's satisfaction.'

The King. 'I thank you heartily, my lord, for that I had almost forgotten it. In troth, Sirs, my conscience in religion, I think, is very well known to all the world; and therefore I declare before you all that I die a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left to me by my father; and this honest man, I think, will witness it.'

Then to Colonel Hacker he said, 'Take care that they do not put me to pain. And, Sir, this and it please you—'

But a gentleman coming near the axe, the king said, 'Take heed of the axe, pray take heed of the axe.'

Then speaking unto the executioner, he said, 'I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands—'

Then turning to the bishop (Juxon), he said, 'I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side.'

The Bishop. 'There is but one stage more. This stage is turbulent and troublesome—it is a short one. But you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way, it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.'

The King. 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.'

The Bishop. 'You are exchanged from a temporal to an eternal crown—a good exchange.'

Then the king said to the executioner, 'Is my hair well?' and took off his cloak and his George, giving his George to the bishop (Juxon), saying, 'Remember.'[1] Then he put off his doublet, and being in his waistcoat he put on his

[1] According to Oldmixon and Hume, this injunction (which excited much curiosity) referred to the king's order to convey the George to the prince, with a charge to forgive his father's murderers. Juxon is said to have stated this before the Council of State. Rushworth states that the king merely reminded the bishop that the George was to be conveyed to the prince. Clarendon and Whitelocke do not explain the word 'Remember.'

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cloak again. Then looking upon the executioner, 'You must set it fast.'

Executioner. 'It is fast, Sir.'

The King. 'When I put out my hands this way' (stretching them out) 'then—' After that, having said two or three words to himself, as he stood with his hands and his eyes lifted up, immediately stooping down he laid his neck upon the block.[1] And then the executioner again putting his hair under his cap, the king, thinking he was going to strike, said, 'Stay for the sign.'

Executioner. 'Yes I will, and please your Majesty.' After a little pause, the king stretching forth his hands, the executioner at one blow severed his head from his body, and held it up and showed it to the people, saying, 'Behold the head of a traitor!'[2] At the instant when the blow was

[1] It being doubted whether the king would submit to the executioner, staples were driven into the block, and hooks prepared, in order, if necessary, to confine his head forcibly to the block. On the trial of Hugh Peters in 1660, it was sworn that this was done by his orders given on the scaffold to one Tench, a joiner in Houndsditch. See State Trials, vol. v.

[2] Though Joyce and Hugh Peters have been suspected of inflicting the murderous blow on Charles, and though another claimant for this infamous distinction is put forward in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1767, there seems little doubt that Richard Brandon the common hangman, assisted by his man Ralph Jones, a ragman in Rosemary-lane, in fact perpetrated the deed. Among the tracts relative to the Civil War presented to the British Museum by George III in 1762, are three on this subject, which are fully noticed in a note to Mr. Ellis's Letters on English History, vol. iii. (second series). It appears by the register of Whitechapel Church that Richard Brandon was buried there on June 24, 1649; and a marginal note (not in the hand of the register, but bearing the mark of antiquity) states, 'This R. Brandon is supposed to have cut off the head of Charles I.' One of the tracts, entitled 'The Confessions of Richard Brandon, the Hangman, upon his Death-bed, concerning the Beheading of his late Majesty,' printed in 1649, states, 'During the time of his sickness his conscience was much troubled and exceedingly perplexed in mind; and on Sunday last a young man of his acquaintance going to visit him fell into discourse, asked him how he did, and whether he was not troubled in conscience for cutting off the king's head. He replied, Yes, by reason that (upon the time of his tryall) he had taken a vow and protestation, wishing God to punish him, body and soul, if ever he appeared on the scaffold to do the act or lift up his hand against him. He likewise confessed that he had £30 for his pains, all paid him in half-

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given, a dismal, universal groan was uttered by the people (as if by one consent) such as was never heard before;[1] and as soon as the execution was over, one troop of horse marched rapidly from Charing Cross to King-street and another from King-street to Charing Cross, to disperse and scatter the multitude.'

When the body was put into a coffin at Whitehall, says Rushworth, 'there were many sighs and weeping eyes at the scene; and divers strove to dip their handkerchiefs in the king's blood.' A general gloom and consternation pervaded London on the day of the perpetration of this atrocious act; many of the chief inhabitants either shut themselves up in their houses or absented themselves from the city. On that day none of the courts of justice sat; and on the next, Whitelocke, one of the commissioners of the Great Seal, says:—'The com-

crowns within an hour after the blow was given; and he had an orange stuck full with cloves, and a handkercher out of the king's pocket, so soon as he was carried off the scaffold; for which orange he was proffered twenty shillings by a gentleman in Whitechapel, but refused the same, and afterwards sold it for ten shillings in Rosemary-lane. About eight o'clock at night he returned home to his wife, living in Rosemary-lane, and gave her the money, saying it was the dearest money he earned in his life, for it would cost him his life. About three days before he died he lay speechless, uttering many a sigh and heavy groan, and so in a desperate state departed for his bed of sorrow. For the burial whereof *great stores of wines were sent in by the Sheriff of the City of London,* and a great multitude of people stood wayting to see his corpse carried to the churchyard, some crying out "Hang him, rogue!" "Bury him in the dunghill!" others pressing upon him, saying they would quarter him for executing the king, insomuch that the churchwardens and masters of the parish were fain to come for the suppressing of them; and with great difficulty he was at last carried to Whitechapel churchyard, having (as it is said) a branch of rosemary at each end of the coffin, on the top thereof, with a rope crosse from one end to the other. A merry conceited cook, living at the sign of the Crown, having a black fan (worth the value of 30*s.*), took a resolution to rent the same in pieces; and to every feather tied a piece of packthread dyed in black ink, and gave them to divers persons, who, in derision, for awhile wore them in their hats.' (See Ellis.) The second tract states that the first victim Brandon beheaded was the Earl of Strafford.

[1] Described by Philip Henry, a spectator. Ellis's Letters, vol. iii. p. 323.

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missioners met, but did not think fit to do any business, or seal any writs, because of the king's death.' Whitelocke says, 'I went not to the House, but stayed all day at home in my study and at my prayers, that this day's work might not so displease God as to bring prejudice to this poor afflicted nation.' Though he took no part in the king's trial, and afterwards refused to appear in the proceedings of the High Court of Justice, yet Whitelocke suffered himself to be flattered by the condescension of Cromwell and the compliments of the Commons. Insomuch that he shortly after fell in with the changes that followed, and engaged in measures contrary to his former opinions; and on February 8 submitted to be made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, or Keeper of the Liberties of England, which was followed on the 14th of the same month by a seat in the Council of State.[1]

Evelyn, in his Diary, writes:—'I kept the day of this martyrdom as a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness, receiving the sad account of it from my brother George and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances.' (vol. i. p. 233.) Archbishop Ussher came out to witness the scene from his house at Whitehall: but he fainted when the king was led out on the scaffold. There is a tradition in Westminster School that South, the celebrated divine, was the boy whose turn it was to read prayers on the day of Charles's death; and that he read the prayer for the king as usual. South at that time must have been fourteen years of age. Five years afterwards, when the loyal and learned divine was at Christ Church, Oxford, we find his name to a copy of Latin verses addressed to the Protector on his conclusion of a treaty

[1] It seems that one of the motives which principally weighed with Whitelocke to engage in the custody of the Great Seal after the king's death was, 'that the business to be undertaken by him was the execution of law and justice, without which men could not live.' (Whitelocke's Mem. p. 376.)

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with the States of Holland. This was excused as a mere college exercise. (Vide Musæ Oxonienses, 1654.)

The Journals of the Commons shew, either that nothing was done, or that it was thought fit to enter nothing on these eventful days. On the day of the execution, there is only the following remarkable entry:—

'Ordered, *That the common post be stayed till tomorrow morning ten o'clock.*'

On the 31st, Commissary-General Ireton reports a paper of divers particulars touching the king's body, his George, his diamond, and two seals. The question being put, that the diamond be sent to Charles Stuart, son of the late king, commonly called Prince of Wales, *it passed with the negative.* The same question was then put, separately, as to the Garter, the George,[1] and the seals; as to each, it passed in the negative.

[1] The author of these memoirs discovered a note in Wilson's Merchant Taylors', which does not appear in any other account. It appears that after the king's death there was a great desire, on the part both of Cromwell and his party, to discover what the king meant by telling Juxon 'Remember.' It was thought that some plot lay concealed. Thus the bishop 'was seized, rifled of all his papers, his clothes and coffers searched, and with great threats adjured to explain what the king meant by his last word "Remember;" which he did by an answer much to the confusion of the enquirers—viz. "that the king his master bade him carry his supreme command of his dying father to the prince his son, and tell him, that if ever he was restored to the crown, he should forgive the authors of his death."' (Taken from Echard's Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. pp. 643–646.) This then would explain the fact of the George entrusted to Bishop Juxon being in the possession of the Commons.

Perhaps the following, from the same authority, may serve to illustrate the subject:—'When the royal chapel of St. George at Windsor, together with the treasury, were plundered, and everything therein carried away and delivered to the trustees appointed by the Parliament for the sale of the king's goods, Wren, dean of the chapel, by great application, expense, and long attendance on the trustees at their meetings in Somerset House, by favour of their chairman, Major Withers, performed at length a memorable piece of service to the Order of the Garter, of which he was registrar, by receiving out of their hands first the two old registers called "the Black" and "the Blue," and afterwards "the Red," with other books and papers relating to the statutes and councils; all which were carefully

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When the news of the decapitation of the king reached Scotland, the loyalists there were moved with horror and indignation. Most of the gentry put on mourning; the chair of state in the Parliament-house, the uppermost seats in the kirks, and almost all the pulpits, were clothed in black.

The body of the king being embalmed, under the orders of Herbert and Bishop Juxon, was removed to St. James's. The usurpers of the government refused permission to bury it in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, from a dread of the indignation of the crowds who would assemble on so solemn and interesting an occasion; but at last, after some deliberation, the council allowed it to be privately interred in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, provided the expenses of the funeral should not exceed five hundred pounds. The last duties of love and respect were (according to Charles's express desire) paid to their sovereign's corpse by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, Lord Southampton, Lord Lindsey, the Bishop of London (Juxon), Herbert, and Mildmay, who, on producing a vote of the Commons, were admitted by Whichcote, the governor of Windsor Castle, to the chapel. When the body was carried out of St. George's Hall, the

concealed and preserved by him to the time of his death, and were afterwards by his son, the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren, presented to the sovereign at the Restoration. The dean also endeavoured to preserve the George and Garter of the great Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, which was the richest that had ever been presented by any sovereign, each letter of the motto being made of diamonds, in number 498, great and small. To preserve these he buried them under the floor of the treasury, depositing in the hands of a friend a note by which they might be found in case of his death. But, being afterwards discovered by Cornelius Holland, they were sold by order of the trustees.'

Since writing the foregoing, the author has been kindly furnished with this by a neighbour, in answer to his enquiry what was the 'George:'—'The Order of the Garter was called, until King Edward the Sixth's time, the Order of St. George. His figure on horseback, represented as holding a spear and killing the dragon, was first worn by the knights at the institution. It is suspended by a blue ribbon across the body from the shoulder. The order was instituted by Edward III, *upon St. George's Day, April* 23, 1349. (Vide Hayden's Dictionary of Dates.)' On the other side will be seen a drawing of the Star, George, and Garter, from a woodcut obtained from a well-known book on Heraldry.

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The Star, the Oval George, the Collar and George, and the Garter.

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sky was serene and clear; but presently a storm of snow fell so fast, that before it reached the chapel the pall and the mourners were entirely whitened. When the bishop (Juxon) proposed to read the burial service of the Church of England, the fanatical governor roughly refused, saying, 'that the Common Prayer Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to be used in that garrison where he commanded.' Clarendon thus describes, with graphic simplicity, the sad scene to its close:—

'But when they entered into it (the chapel), which they had been so well acquainted with, they found it so altered and transformed, all inscriptions and those landmarks pulled down by which all men knew every particular place in that church, and such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they knew not where they were: nor was there one old officer that had belonged to it or knew where our princes had used to be interred. At last there was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell them the place, where, he said, "there was a vault in which King Harry the Eighth and Queen Jane Seymour were interred." As near that place as could conveniently be they caused the grave to be made. There the king's body was laid, without any words or other ceremonies than the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these words only, "*King Charles*, 1648." When the coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth thrown in; which the governor stayed to see perfectly done, and then took the keys of the church.'[1]

[1] Owing to the privacy of this interment, doubts were at the time current as to its having actually taken place. It was asserted that the king's body was buried in the sand at Whitehall; and Aubrey states a report that the coffin carried to Windsor was filled with rubbish and brick-bats. These doubts continuing, Lord Clarendon intimates that a search was made after the Restoration by King Charles II, and that the body could not be found. However, all doubts were entirely removed by the opening of the coffin (which was found where Clarendon described it), in the presence of George IV, then Prince Regent, in April, 1813. It appears from the Windsor and Eton Express, published at Windsor April, 1813, that 'while the workmen were

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A report of the proceedings of the 'High Court of Justice' being made to the Parliament, they resolved 'that the persons employed in that important service had discharged their trust with courage and fidelity; that the Parliament was well satisfied with their account of their proceedings, and ordered it to be engrossed and recorded amongst the Rolls of Parliament, in order to transmit the memory thereof to posterity;' and resolved, 'that the Commissioners of the Great Seal should issue a certiorari to their clerk to record those proceedings in Chancery.' The Rump of the Commons had already virtually annihilated the House of Peers, by declaring themselves the supreme power, and by legislating respecting the king's trial, and other matters, in direct opposition to the voice of that assembly. The resolution which they now formally passed for their abolition was little more than a form. They voted that '*the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished;*' and that they would no longer 'take advice

employed in making a subterraneous passage from the middle of the choir to the new royal mausoleum, they accidentally broke away a part of the vault of Henry VIII, but which was not then opened. The precise spot of Henry's vault being thus ascertained, and as strong doubts had hitherto existed in history respecting the place of interment of Charles I, a strong desire prevailed to satisfy the doubts thus excited. The Prince Regent being at Windsor on the day after the funeral of her late Royal Highness the Duchess of Brunswick, was consulted about the mode of exploring these royal remains, which he immediately directed to be done in his presence. Sir H. Halford attended his Royal Highness to the vault. On removing the black pall which Herbert described, a plain leaden coffin was found, with the inscription, "King Charles, 1648." Within this was a wooden coffin much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped in cere-cloth, into the folds of which an unctuous matter, mixed with resin, had been melted to exclude the external air. The skin was dark and discoloured, the pointed beard perfect; the shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; the hair was thick at the back of the head, and in appearance nearly black; that of the beard was of a redder brown. The head was severed from the body. The fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even:' 'an appearance,' says Sir H. Halford, 'which could have been produced only by a heavy blow inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles I.'

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of them in the exercise of legislative power;' and an act for their abolition was immediately passed accordingly. They next proceeded to resolve, '*that the office of a king is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and therefore ought to be abolished;* and they will settle the government of the nation in the way of a Commonwealth.' The forms of the old constitution were of course altered and adapted to the new scheme of government. The old Great Seal, which had been broken to pieces by workmen in the House of Commons during its sitting, and the fragments given to Widdrington and Whitelocke, the two new commissioners, was now replaced by a new seal, which was, according to the design of the notorious Henry Marten, engraven on one side with the arms of England and the harp and arms of Ireland, and the words 'The Great Seal of England,' and on the reverse side with a representation of the Rump Parliament sitting, and the legend, 'In the first year of freedom by God's blessing restored.' One of the first offices to which this new seal was applied was the sealing of a patent for confirming the acts of trustees who had been appointed to *sell certain bishops' lands*[1] for the benefit of the army and the state. All grants, writs, and other records were ordered to run in the names of the 'Custodes libertatis Angliæ auctoritate Parliamenti," instead of the name of the king. The dates of legal proceedings were to be 'the year of our Lord and no other.' Jurors were to be termed 'juratores pro republicâ,' instead of 'juratores pro domino rege;' and all indictments to conclude '*contra pacem publicam,*' instead of '*contra pacem, dignitatem, et coronam nostram.*'

All writers agree that the demeanour and conduct of the king during the whole of these very trying proceedings were eminently distinguished by good sense, dignity and temper—

[1] 'I would not monarchy destroy,
But as the only way t' enjoy
The ruin of the Church.'—*Denham.*

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equally remote from pusillanimity and arrogance. His sufferings had evidently softened his disposition and manners (which though benevolent and upright, were not always gracious or conciliating): and as he says in an excellent letter to the prince from the Isle of Wight, 'he had learned to busy himself by retiring into himself, and therefore could the better digest what befel him.' The able and wise counsels of Dr. Juxon, as well as his soothing and pious exhortations, tended, no doubt, in a great measure to produce these effects. Thus the humiliation of the king's position never once made him forget himself; he was never betrayed by insult into unfit passion or acrimony, he received the indignities of the military rabble 'more in sorrow than in anger,' and retorted on his over-bearing judges with self-collected acuteness and ready good sense, without anything of insult or undue asperity. Echard hints that he had not always been ready in speech; but both in the Isle of Wight and at Westminster, the excitement of his situation appears to have entirely freed him from embarrassment. His answers to, and reasonings with, Bradshaw are marked by closeness and precision, by a well-considered sense of his kingly station, and a noble determination not to compromise its dignity. The learned serjeant-at-law was indeed placed in a position in which a much feebler disputant than Charles would easily have triumphed in the discussion. Whenever Bradshaw makes the slightest attempt at defending the jurisdiction of the Court on grounds of reason, the king readily foils him; and the president is driven back, discomfited, to entrench himself behind the Court's absolute decree, that their authority shall not be disputed. Thus he has the absurdity to tell the king that he is bound to obey the authority of the people of England, 'of which you *are elected* king.' 'No, Sir, I deny that,' says the king; upon which Bradshaw replies, 'If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed.' The king, warm with his success, proceeds, 'I do

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tell them so; England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom for near these thousand years.' Bradshaw again exposes himself by saying, 'They sit here by the authority of the Commons of England; and all your predecessors and you are responsible to them.' The king sees his advantage—'I deny that; shew me one precedent;' when poor Bradshaw has no answer but, 'Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you.' And presently after, when Charles says, 'Shew me that jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard,' Bradshaw, with amusing naïveté, replies, 'Sir, we shew it you here—the Commons of England.' That Charles, though not betrayed into violence or irritability, was not wanting in expressing his just scorn and natural indignation at the proceedings of the Court, appears by the energy of some of his answers and interjections, and by his dignified reply when Bradshaw impudently told him—'Sir, it is not for prisoners to require;' 'Prisoner, Sir, *I am not an ordinary prisoner!*'

The conduct of Charles during his last moments may, by those who most pity and condemn his fate, be safely left to be gathered from the uncontroverted facts of history, or to be described by those most hostile to his conduct. Mr. Godwin (who generally writes from the best authorities) says, 'Through the whole of this critical scene Charles deported himself with great composure, and with a carriage wholly free from affectation; he was undisturbed, self-possessed, and serene.' And in acknowledging (with something of regret) that this execution 'did not conciliate the English nation to republican ideas, and that it shocked all those persons in the country who did not adhere to the ruling party,' Mr. Godwin adds, 'This was in some degree owing to the decency with which Charles met his fate. . . . . I am afraid that the day that saw Charles perish on the scaffold, rendered the restoration of his family certain.' (Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 692.)

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Andrew Marvel, the friend of Cromwell and of Milton, and the tutor to Cromwell's nephew, who may have probably witnessed what he describes, writes of this scene :—

'He nothing common did nor mean
After that memorable scene ;
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try :
Nor call'd the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right ;
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.'

(*Ode to Cromwell on his return from Ireland.*)

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CHAPTER VI.

The Restoration.—Dr. Juxon, Archbishop.—His Works.—His Death, Funeral, last Will and Testament.—His Benefactions.—Posthumous Memorials of the Archbishop.

Dr. Juxon, as we have seen, was seized after the king's death, by order of the persons administering the government, and brought before what was called 'The High Court of Justice.' It appears they could find no occasion of wrong in him to form a plea for sending him to the Tower, to bear company with Wren, Bishop of Ely. Satisfied therefore with rifling his person, and dispossessing him of all his papers, and the king's George, he was permitted to go at large. But these circumstances, together with the suspicion attaching to him as being the late king's friend and privy to his Majesty's counsels, rendered it necessary for him to flee for refuge. We are therefore told he sought this course by retiring at once to Little Compton, in Gloucestershire, his own private property and manorial residence.

At what particular time he published his sermon on the king's death, we have no specific data to go upon. It is dated *March*, 1649, about two months after the death of the king. If the peculiar position in which he was placed rendered it necessary for him to decamp at once, one would suppose that he wrote this sermon at Little Compton, and sent it to London to be published. It is quite obvious that he had no opportunity of preaching it. Indeed, the title of this sermon and the manner of its publication evidently shew that it was

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altogether a secret production, and published anonymously; for the words, 'by Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London,' are not in print, but in manuscript, inserted later. (*Vide* Appendix, Part III.)

Of Dr. Juxon while at Little Compton very little is known. He appears to have lived in strict privacy and retirement, which doubtless was much needed if he were to escape the suspicions and ill-will of the usurpers of the government. All, therefore, we can gather is from Whitelocke, who states, that 'during his retirement at Compton he was used now and then, for health's sake and to divert his sorrows, to hunt with some of the neighbouring and loyal party.' He further says, 'that Juxon was much delighted with hunting, and kept a pack of good hounds, and had them so well ordered and hunted, chiefly by his own skill and direction, that they exceeded all other hounds in England for the pleasure and orderly hunting of them. He was a person of great parts and temper, and had as much command of himself as of his hounds.' (Memorials, p. 24.) The only other little circumstance we can gather, is a tradition in Little Compton and Chastleton, the adjoining parish, that the bishop was in the habit of performing divine service every Sunday at Chastleton House, the residence of the Jones's. He appears to have been on terms of friendship and intimacy with the family at Chastleton. Doubtless they were 'loyalists,' and Dr. Juxon was secure in their hospitality. What was the state of Little Compton Church, adjoining his residence, we are not told; but it is very probable that some Cromwellite or Independent ministered there; and he had no alternative but to betake himself to Chastleton House. This fact will account for the gift of King Charles's Bible to the Jones's. (See this point canvassed at the close of this chapter.)

The two following anecdotes are gathered from a MS. written by a lady of the neighbourhood:—

'He (i. e. Bishop Juxon) loved hunting, and the Puritans

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would willingly have availed themselves of that in his disfavour to Oliver, but he was too wise to take notice of their complaints. The bishop having conferred a great obligation on a gentleman, refused any kind of return. "Give me leave, my lord," said the gentleman, "to add at least one staunch hound to your pack." The bishop could not resist that offer, and at length a dog arrived, with its collar, and upon it engraved "Jowler." Jowler was a silver drinking-cup, and it was the law of the house that every stranger must take off Jowler's head at a draught.—Here are the particulars of an offence given by Bishop Juxon to the *holy* men of those days. His lordship's hounds rebelliously running through Chipping-Norton churchyard, during the time the Puritans were engaged in public worship ("seeking the Lord," as they termed it), grievously offended them. A member of this *pious* assembly was sent to complain of the affair to Oliver Cromwell. "Pray," said Oliver in reply, "do you think that the bishop prevailed on the hare to run through the churchyard at that time?" "No, and please your Highness, I did not directly say he did, but through the holy ground the hare did go at that time." "Get you gone," rejoined the Protector, "and let me hear no such frivolous complaints; whilst the bishop continues not to give my government any offence, let him enjoy his diversion of hunting, unmolested."'

We now pass on to the year 1660, the period of the glorious restoration of Church and State under Charles II. Dr. Juxon now emerges from his solitude of eleven years at Little Compton, to take part in what must have been to him the most happy portion of his life. The political events are well known. Cromwell the usurper dies, and bequeaths the protectorship to his son; but the people of England were by this time heartily sick of protectorship times: they longed for the restoration of the monarchy. General Monk, in command of the army, bided his time, and with the most consummate skill and strategy secured the event. The Prince of Wales was communicated with at Breda, where he issued

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his famous 'declaration.' He shortly after returns to England, and is quietly secured and placed on the throne by General Monk.

Dr. Juxon, who 'had spent several years in a retired and devout manner at his estate at Little Compton in Gloucestershire, whither he had retired after the late king's murder, was now deservedly set at the head of the Church of England, being translated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in full accordance with the general voice and opinion of the nation, who thought no one so fit to fill that high post as the man whose conduct in prosperity had been uniformly admitted to be irreproachable; who had been content for conscience sake to suffer in the rebellion the loss not only of his ecclesiastical revenues, but much of his temporal estate; who had assisted the martyred sovereign in his last hours; and who had successfully baffled the craft and tyranny of those regicides who had caused him to be taken into custody to make him reveal what his Majesty had secretly entrusted to him.'

On September 3, the *congè d'élire* was granted; on the 13th, Dr. Juxon was elected; on the 20th, confirmed in Henry the Eighth's Chapel, Westminster, by virtue of the king's letters commissional directed to all the bishops then living; 'amidst a great concourse of orthodox clergymen and gentry, who, touched at the sight, could not refrain from giving God thanks for the mercies of that day; and also touched at the sight of that good man, whom they esteemed a person of primitive sanctity, of great wisdom, piety, learning, patience, charity, and all apostolical virtues.'

It appears there were only nine bishops who survived the persecution, and who doubtless were all present on this interesting occasion, viz. William Juxon, Bishop of London; William Pierce, of Bath and Wells; Matthew Wren, of Ely; Robert Skinner, of Oxford; William Roberts, of Bangor; John Warner, of Rochester; Brian Duppa, of Salisbury;

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Henry King, of Chichester; and Accepted Frewen, of Lichfield and Coventry.

Though there was now a restoration of Church and State, the times were still troublous, so far as the Church was concerned. Dr. Juxon, in his old age, did not recline on a bed of roses. His task was one of no ordinary sort, to re-establish Church principles and orthodoxy. He had the Nonconformists to contend against; who were a most numerous body within the Church.

In 1662 the 'Act of Uniformity' was passed. In the previous year the Savoy Conference was held, but had failed in bringing about any tangible means of conciliation.

The Uniformity Act became law on May 19. By it every minister was required, before the approaching feast of St. Bartholomew, to declare his unfeigned assent to the use of everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer; the penalty of refusing to do which was deprivation. In June, Bishop Wren published 'A brief Theological Treatise, touching that unlawful Scotch Covenant, which, in the late ungracious Times, was with Fraud enough and Force obtruded upon the People of England; written first upon sundry private occasions, after the manner of a Sermon upon these words of Psalm xliv. 18, "Nor behave ourselves frowardly in Thy Covenant," but now thought fit to be published by him for the present use of his Diocese: the readier to perform all therein, Divines and others, for that due abrenunciation of the said Covenant, which they are out of hand to make, by virtue of the Act of Uniformity.' In consequence of which there were but few of the parochial clergy within the diocese of Norwich who did not submit. (Kennett's Register Eccl. 1728, p. 707.)

The design of the Nonconformists at the Savoy Conference having miscarried, and they having endeavoured in vain to obtain an Act more agreeable to the king's declaration at Breda, Calamy seeing that his hopes were frustrated by the Act of Uniformity, resigned and preached his farewell sermon

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at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, on August 27. He made, however, a last effort three days afterwards, to continue in the exercise of his ministerial office. A petition was sent to his Majesty, signed by many of the London clergy, and Marten and Bates assisted at the presenting of it, when Calamy made a long and moving speech. But neither his eloquence nor the petition could avail. The king promised to consider the business. Next day the matter was fully debated in council, the king being present, who was pleased to declare he intended an indulgence, if at all possible. The great friends of the silenced ministers, who had encouraged their hopes by a variety of specious promises, were allowed upon this occasion freely to suggest their reasons against putting the Act into execution, and they argued very strongly. But the Bishop of London (Sheldon) observed that it was now too late to think of suspending that law, since he had, in obedience to it, ejected such of his clergy as would not comply with it on the Sunday before; that the resolutions of the Council Board could not justify his contempt of a law passed with such an unanimous consent of both Houses after mature deliberation; and that if the importunity of dissatisfied persons were a sufficient reason for suspending the sacred authority of the law, it would render the legislature ridiculous and contemptible. It was therefore, upon consideration of the whole matter, resolved that no indulgence should be granted. And by this seasonable interposition his lordship freed the Church of England from distractions and convulsions. Some courtiers, indeed, would have persuaded the king that there would be a want of preachers in the city of London upon the Sunday following the ejection of the nonconforming ministers. But the bishop, who had computed the number of the faction, prudently took care to have ready at hand an equal number of orthodox divines, who, on the day appointed, took possession of the pulpits respectively assigned to them, to the utter confusion of the schismatics, who were astonished at their

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eloquence and learning. (*Vide* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 33.)

It was at this particular crisis in the affairs of the Church that Archbishop Juxon, now upwards of eighty years of age, published a treatise, in the spirit of conciliation, entitled Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη, or Some Considerations upon the Act of Uniformity, with an Expedient for the Satisfaction of the Clergy within the Province of Canterbury, by a Servant of the God of Peace. It was printed in London in quarto. (*Vide* Kennett's Register, p. 812.) This and the Funeral Sermon on the king are probably all that Dr. Juxon published.[1]

The venerable archbishop did not survive to see the effects of this great work. We are informed that his declining years were not vigorous, and, if so, it says much for him that within a year of his death he could undertake his work on the Act of Uniformity.

'Broken with age and infirmities, and especially with the most racking torture of the stone (calculus), he was now ready to be delivered from the burden of the flesh. On June 4, 1663, he was translated to that place where alone there were many which excelled him.'

On July 7, his body, having been previously embalmed, was conveyed in great pomp to Oxford, where it lay in state the next day and part of the 9th in the Divinity School, accompanied always by some of the Heralds-at-arms. It was then, after an eloquent speech delivered by the Public Orator in the Convocation House in praise of the deceased, carried with much state on men's shoulders (the heralds and the members of the University attending) up the High-street to Carfax, and thence through the north gate to St. John's. After it was placed in the chapel there, an anthem was sung, and an oration spoken near the grave by William Leving. The usual service for burial was performed by the president, Dr. R. Baylie, and the body solemnly interred at the upper end before

[1] For these two works of the archbishop see Appendix, Part III.

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the altar in a bricked grave in the south aisle, adjoining to one then made to receive the remains of his predecessor and patron, Archbishop Laud, which in a few days afterwards were brought thither from All-Hallows', Barking, London, for re-interment.[1] (Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.)

From Le Neve's Fasti we learn the inscription on his coffin; his words are:—

'On July 9 solemnly interred in St. John's chapel, where as yet is no monument erected to him; but on the plate on his coffin is the following inscription:—

'Depositum Reverendiss. in Christo Patris
Gulielmi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis
Qui moriebatur iv Jun. MDCLXIII.'

THE ARCHBISHOP'S WILL, extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. It bears date Sept. 20, 1662, and was published May 14, 1663:—

'In Dei Nomine. Amen. I, William Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, being weak in body, but of good memory and understanding (I praise God for it), do make and ordain this my last will and testament in manner and form following,

[1] The funeral of the archbishop must have been very expensive, and contrary to the injunctions in his will. In Add. MSS. 12,514, fol. 309 (British Museum), is a curious memorandum of composition for the late Archbishop of Canterbury's funeral, on July, 1663. It runs thus:—'Whereas a composition was made by me, Sir Edward Walker, knt., Garter, principal King-at-arms, with Sir William Juxon, knt. and baronet, for myself and 4 heralds to serve at the funeral of the late Archbp. of Canterbury at Oxford, and to furnish a great banner, 6 Banner rolls, a Crosier, and Mitre, for £200: and whereas by the undertaking to satisfy the painter for his said work, the money fell short for the payment of the officers at arms such fees as formerly they had received on such occasions; I, the said Sir Edw. Walker, did therefore out of my own part abate six pounds, but without intention to leave it as a precedent for the future, and the money was divided as followeth:—

	£	s.	d.
To the Garter	42	0	0
To a herald	32	0	0
To a herald	32	0	0
To a herald	32	0	0
To a herald	32	0	0
To the painter for his work	29	8	0
	199	8	0

'Edw. Walker, Garter.'

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revoking all former wills whatsoever. And first, I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my Creator, Father of mercies, and God of all comfort, trusting by the merits and mediation of His dear Son Jesus Christ, our blessed Lord and Saviour, to obtain remission of my sins and all other benefits of His passion. My body I commit to the earth, to be decently buried without pomp. My worldly goods I thus dispose:— I give unto the poor of the parish of St. Peter the Great, alias the Sub-Deanery, in the city of Chichester, £100. To the poor of St. Giles, in the suburbs of the city of Oxford, £100. To the poor of Somerton, county Oxford, £50. To the poor of Little Compton, county Gloucester, £100. To the poor of Lemington, in the same county, £100. To the poor of Todenham, in the same county, £50. To the poor of Lambeth and Croydon, in the county of Surrey, I give each £100. To my sister, Ann Swayne, I give £1000. To my nephews, Richard Swayne and Lawrence Swayne, I give to each of them £500. To my nieces, Elizabeth Merlott and Frances Fisher, to each of them I give £500. To my cousin, Doctor Robert Pory, I give £300. To his children, Elizabeth Pory, Thomas Pory, Helen Pory, Mary Pory, and Robert Pory, to each of them I give £200. To my cousin, John Pory, I give £500. To each of his children £200. To my cousin, Henry Fisher, I give £300. To my cousin, Thomas Juxon of Mortlake, I give £200. To my cousin, John Meeres of Petersfield, I give £100. To my cousin, John Palmer, merchant, I give £50. To his sister, — Palmer of Chichester, I give £50. To Doctor Braburne, my chaplain, I give £10 to buy a ring. To Sir Phillip Warwicke I give my silver standish with the watch and counters. To Doctor Bayley, Dean of —, I give £20 to buy him a ring. To the president and scholars of Saint John's College, Oxford, I give £7000 to be disposed of for the increase of the yearly stipends of the fellows and scholars of that college, by purchase of lands for that purpose, whereof the fellows and scholars to have equal shares. To the repair of the church of St. Paul's, if it proceed, I give £2000. To my menial servants which shall be in my house at the time of my death I give £1200, to be distributed

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to them as my executor and overseer herein named shall think meet, with regard had to the quality of their places and time of their abode with me. To my reverend brother Gilbert, Lord Bishop of London, I give my Barge, with the furniture thereto belonging. All the rest of my goods, cattels, and chattels whatsoever, my debts first paid and my funeral expenses discharged, I give to my nephew, Sir William Juxon, whom I make sole executor of this my last will, and do entrust my good friend, Sir Phillip Warwicke, overseer of this my will, and do give to each of them for their pains herein to be taken £100. My desire and will is, if I happen to die before the hall at Lambeth be finished, that my executor be at the charge of finishing it according to the modell made of it, if my successor shall give leave. In witness whereof I have written this with my own hand, and thereunto set my sign and seal this twentieth day of September, 1662. W. CANT.

'Declared to be my last will and testament this 14th May, 1663, in the presence of us, Richard Manning, Paul Widdopp, Robert Carllis.

'*Codicil to be annexed*:—I give to the Cathedral Church of Canterbury £500, to be disposed of as the now present dean, Doctor Turner, shall think fit. I give to Mr. George Juxon of Canterbury £100. I give to Doctor Turner, Dean of Canterbury, £20 to buy him a ring. I give to each of my poor kindred as are not mentioned in my will the sum of £500, to be distributed among them as my executor and overseer shall find cause. I give to Mr. Daniel Nicholl, to buy a ring, £10. I give to Richard Barnes £20. W. CANT.

'I give to the children of my nephews and nieces, to every of them £100. W. CANT.

'Probatum fuit testamentum suprascriptum cum codicillo eidem annexo apud London coram venerabili viro Domino Willielmo Merrick, milite, Legum Doctore, quarto die mensis Julii, Anno Dom. 1663.'

By this will it is quite clear that the archbishop had no daughter—nor was he ever married—for Laud, in appointing

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him as Lord Treasurer, spoke of Juxon as a man having 'no wife and children to provide for.' With respect to his poor relations, there may be some reason for the statements in Notes and Queries, as these are mentioned in the codicil. But with regard to direct representatives of the family, this writer believes all the statements hitherto made to be illusory. (But see further, Part II., on monuments in Little Compton Church.)

THE ARCHBISHOP'S BENEFACTIONS.—During the short time that he held the primacy, only three years, he repaired the palace at Lambeth and rebuilt the great hall, which he did in the ancient form. He expended in buildings and reparations at Lambeth Palace and at Croydon House £14,874 7*s.* 10*d.* He could not be persuaded to rebuild the former in the modern way and unite it to the Library, though it would have cost less money. Notwithstanding his munificence, his successor, Archbishop Sheldon, sued Sir William Juxon, his executor, in the Court of Arches for dilapidations, and May 24, 1667, recovered of him £800. (Aubrey's Surrey, vol. v. p. 273.)

Besides these great works at Lambeth and Croydon, he augmented the vicarages, the great tithes of which were appropriated to his see. Thus in the county of Kent, he added to Ash (besides the old pension of £16 13*s.* 4*d.*) £33 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum. To Beauxfield, alias Whitfield, £20. To Buckland, £12. To Brabourn, £16. To Challock, £10. To Codicote, £20. To Easton, £10. To Hingham, near Dover, £25. To twelve or thirteen vicarages or curacies, belonging formerly to the Priory of St. Gregory's in Canterbury, £210. To Gulston, £10. To Leeds and Bromfield, £30, besides the old pension of £22 6*s.* 8*d.* To Maidstone, £37 6*s.* 8*d.*, beyond the former pension of £20. To Marden, £20; St. Margaret's at Cliffe, £26; St. Laurence in the Isle of Thanet, £40; St. Nicholas in the same, £30; Lydden, £18; Run-

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nington, £20; Overland, £10; Reculver, £20; Sibbert's Wold, £20; East Sutton, £24; Tonge, £10; Waldershare, £20; Walmer, £20; Westwell, £30; Wotton, £40; and to Folkestone, £60, besides the old pension of £20. In Buckinghamshire, to Brickhill Parva, £14. In Sussex, to Portslade, £16. In Lancashire, to Blackburn, £70 for vicars, beyond the old pension of £26 13*s.* 4*d.* To Rochdale, to the curates, £42. Whalley, to the curates, £120. In all, £1103 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. (See Kennett's Case of Impropriations, p. 256.)

King Charles's Bibles.—Of course everything relating to the king and his last moments are full of interest, and especially in so far as Archbishop Juxon was therewith connected. It is said that the king presented to his faithful friend, Dr. Juxon, his own Bible in which he daily read, on the eve of his execution, or on the scaffold, as a memento of his Majesty's esteem and friendship. No doubt the good archbishop would consider this a great treasure, and would preserve it. That such a treasure remained as an heir-loom in the Juxon family there can be no question. The only question arises, to whom did the veritable Bible pass, after the extinction of the Juxon family? There have been many claimants for this honour, but this writer feels perfectly satisfied that the one in the possession of Mr. Whitmore Jones of Chastleton is the true Bible, and no other.

However, in a work of this kind it would only be fair to state the case of the several claimants.

1. There is a claim to this treasure in the Skene family, Aberdeenshire. The present writer accidentally heard of this, and entered into correspondence with a representative of that family. He writes:—

'The relics we possess of Archbishop Juxon are: 1. An original portrait of him, I think a duplicate picture of the one in St. John's College, Oxford. 2. A Bible said to have

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been given to him by King Charles on the scaffold, and which has come down to us from Bishop Scougall of Aberdeen, from whom we are descended. The Bible is rebound in velvet embroidered with gold, and the royal arms with the initials C.R. embroidered upon it; but, strangely enough, the arms are those of the Prince of Wales, and there is some appearance as if the second letter had been originally P. and the ꝛ added to it. I enclose a copy of the memorandum put up with the bible.'

(*Memorandum referred to.*)

'The Bible of King Charles the First, used by him on the scaffold during his last moments, and presented upon that awful occasion to Juxon, Bishop of London, who assisted the devotions of this unfortunate monarch. This interesting relic passed from the family of Dr. Juxon to that of his relative Scougall, Bishop of Aberdeen, along with whose inheritance it became the property of Moir of Stoneywood, in whose family and that of their representative, Skene of Rubislaw, in Aberdeenshire, it has remained ever since. The Bible remained in perfect preservation until the Rebellion in 1745, when it was stolen, and afterwards found in its present dilapidated state concealed in a hole under ground.

'Date of the Bible, 1637.'

2. In the Memoirs of the Moirs of Stoneywood, in Aberdeenshire, published 1864–5, and reviewed in the North British Review, March, 1866, mention is made of two genuine Charles the First's Bibles given to Bishop Juxon—one at Stoneywood, and another sold to the Earl of Fife, with a title-page alleged by the Stoneywood family to have been purloined from them. A notice of this in the Guardian of June 6, 1866, called forth a letter from—

3. Mr. Whitmore Jones of Chastleton, dated June 20, to the editor of the Guardian:—

'Sir,—With reference to your notice respecting the article in the North British Review, in which mention is made of two genuine King Charles's Bibles stated to have been given

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to Bishop Juxon, and your comment thereon, that "unluckily two most genuine and veritable copies exist in the immediate neighbourhood of Bishop Juxon's undoubted residence, and that of his family after him," it may be interesting to the public to know the particulars of the copies you allude to.

'One of these Bibles is in possession of E. P. Shirley, Esq., of Eatington Park, near Stratford-on-Avon, and bears on it the letters C. P. (Carolus Princeps). The account Mr. Shirley gives of the Bible is, that it is one of those used in the Chapel Royal; and the tradition in his family is, that the lessons were read out of it on the morning of the execution.

'The other Bible, the one given to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold, is in my possession. This was given by Lady Fane, great-niece and last descendant of Bishop Juxon, to Mr. John Jones of Chastleton.

'Juxon retired immediately after the execution to his estate of Little Compton, which is about a mile distant from this place. There is a tradition that the bishop performed the services according to the Church of England in this house every Sunday during the Commonwealth. His estate came on his death to his nephew Sir William Juxon, from him to his daughter Lady Fane, who, in leaving the neighbourhood, gave the Bible to Mr. John Jones of Chastleton.

'I need hardly say that it has always been considered as a very great heir-loom in my family.

'William Whitmore Jones.'

This author had the privilege of inspecting the Bible in the possession of Mr. Whitmore Jones. It is exceedingly well preserved in an oak case, and apparently kept as an heir-loom in the family. Its date is 1629. It bears the royal arms with C. R. It also bears the Cambridge arms, as having been printed at the University by Thomas and John Buck, printers to the University, with this inscription, '*Hinc lucem et pocula sacra.*' It also has on the fly-leaf, apparently in the archbishop's own writing, 'Juxon, Compton, Glostershire.' The author has not therefore the slightest doubt whatever

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that this is the veritable original Bible belonging to King Charles, and presented by him to Dr. Juxon; and that the statements therewith connected in Mr. Whitmore Jones's letter are perfectly accurate. There is, however, an inaccuracy in the letter, which the author takes leave to correct. Mr. Whitmore Jones states that Lady Fane, the donor of the Bible, was 'grand-niece and *last descendant* of Bishop Juxon;' again, 'his estate (Dr. Juxon's) came to his nephew, Sir William Juxon, from him *to his daughter* Lady Fane, who, on leaving the neighbourhood, gave the Bible,' &c. Now, Lady Fane was the wife of the *second* Sir William Juxon, son of the Sir William Juxon, nephew and heir of the archbishop. Upon his decease and the extinction of the title, *his widow* married Lord Fane, in the Irish peerage, and thus became Lady Fane. She was therefore *no descendant* of Bishop Juxon. (See Part II. Tombstones and Monuments in Little Compton Church.)

Since writing this, the author has been kindly furnished with the following:—

'A relation of the family now possessing Chastleton House thus writes respecting an interesting relique of King Charles:—"There is at Chastleton a very curious set of pictures, drawn on talc, illustrative of the life of Charles I. They consist of a face and bust in one miniature, in a case, accompanied with a set of eight or nine of these pictures drawn on talc, being different scenes or dresses which are to be laid on the miniature, so that the face of the miniature appears through a hole for that purpose, and thus the one miniature does duty in every one of the talc pictures. These were accidentally discovered some twenty years ago. The miniature was well known, and was supposed to be complete in itself; but one day, whilst being handled by one of the present family, then quite a child, it fell to the ground, and being in that way forced open at the back, those talc pictures were brought to light. The careful manner in which they had been concealed, and the miniature thereby made to appear no more than an ordinary portrait, seems to warrant the suggestion

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that they were in the first instance the property of some affectionate adherent of Charles, whose prudence persuaded him to conceal what his loyalty no doubt taught him to value very highly. There is no direct evidence to shew that they belonged to Dr. Juxon, nor is there any tradition that I ever heard connected with them. The two concluding pictures of the series represent the decapitated head in the hand of the executioner, and a hand placing the martyr's crown upon the brows. Altogether it is a most interesting relic."'

The only memorial of the archbishop with which the author is acquainted, he obtains from an extract in Bishop Kennett. He speaks of the archbishop's private arms in the east window of the church of Somerton, county Oxford, of which this prelate was formerly rector—viz. a cross *gules* between four negroes' heads, couped and wreathed about, being exactly the same which is now to be seen over the entrance to the Manor House of Little Compton. There is also a portrait (the only monument) of the archbishop in the common-room of St. John's College (*vide* frontispiece).

But perhaps the best memorial of this truly great and good man is to be found in the testimony borne of him by Sir Philip Warwick, who appears to have enjoyed the society and friendship of Dr. Juxon for many years, and was named by the archbishop overseer of his last will and testament. Sir Philip, in his Memoirs, thus speaks of his friend :—

'This reverend prelate was of a meek spirit and of a solid and steady judgment, and having addicted his first studies to the civil law (from which he took his title of doctor, though he afterwards took on him the ministry), this fitted him the more for secular and state affairs. His temper and prudence wrought so upon all men, that though he had the two most invidious characters both in the ecclesiastical and civil state—one of a bishop, the other of a lord treasurer—yet neither drew envy on him, though the humour of the times tended to brand all great men in those employments. In the year 1635, this good and judicious man had the white staff put into his hand; and though he found the revenue low and much anti-

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cipated, yet without meeting with times peaceable and regular, and his master inclined to be frugal, he held up the dignity and honour of his Majesty's household and the splendour of the Court, and all public expenses and justice in all contracts. So, as there was as few dissatisfactions in his time as perchance in any, yet he cleared off the anticipations on the revenue and set his master beforehand. The choice of this good man shewed how remote it was from this king's intentions to be either tyrannical or arbitrary, for so well he demeaned himself through his whole seven years' employment, that neither as treasurer or bishop came there any one accusation against him in that last parliament (1640), whose ears were opened, nay itching, after such complaints. Nay, even after the king's being driven from London, he remained at his house belonging to his bishopric at Fulham, and sometimes was visited by some of the grandees, and found respect from all, and yet walked steadily in his old paths. And he retained so much of his master's favour, that when the king was admitted to any treaty with the two Houses' Commissioners, he always commanded his (Dr. Juxon's) attendance on him, for he ever valued his advice.'

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PART II.

SKETCH OF THE ARCHBISHOP'S PARISH—LITTLE COMPTON.

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south-east from Campden, and thirty-one north-east from Gloucester. Combe in the Anglo-Saxon signifies "a narrow valley." Little serves to distinguish it from the adjoining parish of Long Compton in Warwickshire.'

He thus describes the village:—

'The village lies under the west side of a hill, which secures it from the cold easterly winds. It is bounded on the north by Warwickshire, on the east, west, and south by Oxfordshire, and has the convenience of the turnpike road from Worcester to London running through it. A considerable part of the parish is unenclosed. There is a common about two miles in length, and in some places above half a mile broad, of very good land, and exceedingly improvable.'

He also mentions the Four-shire Stone:—

'There is a point of land in this parish which extends to a place where a pedestal is erected, with a sun-dial on the top, and inscriptions on the four sides to denote the joining of four counties where it stands—i.e. those of Gloucester, Worcester, Warwick, and Oxford. This is occasioned by the parish of Evenlode, which is a disjointed member of Worcestershire, running up to the south side of the pedestal or pillar, with an inscription—"This is the Four-shire Stone."'

But the spot where the pillar is erected is near twenty miles distant from the continent of Worcestershire. (This pedestal still remains, but the sun-dial is wanting, and also the inscriptions.)

Of the Manor, &c.—Domesday Book only says thus much of the manor—'The church of St. Dennis holds twelve hides in Contone, in Deerhurst hundred.' (p. 72.) What acreage of land is contained in a hide it is difficult to say. From Kennett's Parochial Antiquities we gather this explanation:—

'*Hide of land*—not from the hide of a beast, as if an English hide of land were like the extent of Carthage—*quantum taurino possint circumdare tergo.* But from Saxon *hyd*, a

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house or habitation, from *hydan,* to cover. The word was sometimes taken for a house, as we still preserve the word (hutte) for a cottage. And what Bede calls *familias* (which *familia* seems to have been a circuit of ground sufficient for the maintenance of a family), his Saxon interpreter King Alfred calls *hidelander.* The quantity of it was afterwards described to be as much as was sufficient to the cultivation of one plough. *Hida Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens;* whence our term plough-land. The quantity of a hide was never expressly determined. Gervase of Tilbury makes it one hundred acres. The Malmesbury MS. cited by Spelman computes it at ninety-six acres—one hide= four virgates, and every virgate twenty-four acres. And yet the history of the foundation of the Abbey of Battle makes eight virgates go to one hide. But Polydore Vergil blunders most, who reduces a hide to twenty acres. The truth seems to be that a hide, a yard of land, a knight's fee, &c., contained no certain number of acres, but varied according to different places. In the Domesday Inquisition, the first enquiry was how many hides. One hide of land at Chesterton, 15 Henry II, contained sixty-four acres. The yearly value of a hide of land in Blechesdon was 40*s.* in 35 Henry III.'

Be this as it may, there is now no opportunity of solving the difficulty. But one thing is evident; whatever twelve hides of land represented, the quantity signified the manor estate of Little Compton. For we find from this early acquisition that the manor was appropriated to the use of the Priory of Deerhurst, which was a cell to the Abbey of St. Denis in Normandy. But after the suppression of alien priories, this and other estates formerly belonging to the same priory were granted by King Edward IV to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, in whose possession they continued till the dissolution of that house. The manor of Little Compton was then granted to Sir Thomas Pope, 38 Henry VIII. Sir Thomas Pope, as grantee, by will dated in 1558, devised it to John Dodmer, son of Robert Dodmer by Sir Thomas's

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second wife; and he proved his title 11 Elizabeth. Elizabeth, his only daughter and heiress, married Sir Robert Cotton, who held it in 1608, and had livery granted him in his wife's right.

The manor estate then passed by purchase to Doctor William Juxon. Whether he added to the estate by purchasing up all the property in the parish, or whether this was done by his successors, we are not aware. But one thing is certain, that the whole parish, as well as that of Lemington, nigh to the Four-shire Stone, was vested in the Juxon family, and was held by the last survivor, Lady Fane. As Lemington was bequeathed a charity, there can be no doubt it was part of the archbishop's estate. At the death of the archbishop he bequeathed his estate (see Will) to his nephew Sir William Juxon, whom he left sole executor. This Sir William, it appears from Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, was created a baronet December 22, 1672 (12 C. II). He was High Sheriff of the county in 1676, and was succeeded in his title and estate by his son, who died in 1739 without issue, whereby the title became extinct. His lady surviving him, was afterwards married to Lord Fane in the Irish peerage, and thus became Lady Fane. She survived her husband, and according to the authority from which we are quoting, 'she is the present proprietor of Little Compton, where she has a good house and resides some part of the year.'

We spoke of other property in the parish as distinct from the manor estate. And this we learn from the foregoing authority. Thus 'John Musgrove was seized of lands in Little Contone 3 Edw. I; Robert Ferrers of Chartley was seized of lands in Compton 1 Hen. V; Sir Edward Ferrers de Chartley held four marks rent in Little Compton 14 Hen. VI.' Again, from Fosbrooke's Hist. of Gloucestershire we learn another fact, that 'in Michaelmas term 17 Car. I, Charles Cocks and John Doyley, Esqrs., Robert Doyley, gent., Richard Pope,

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gent., Lucy his wife, Josiah Lambourne and Alice his wife, and Susan Oldfield, widow, levied a fine of this manor to Thomas Juxon, Esq., who was buried here in 1643.' How this came to pass we have no means of ascertaining, seeing that Dr. Juxon must have been lord of the manor before and at the time of the interment of his relative. That this Thomas Juxon was interred in the family vault of Little Compton there can be no question (*vide* Tombstones in Church), but whether he resided at the manor house while Dr. Juxon was Bishop of London, or was brought here for interment, we have no certain data to go upon.

In Fosbrooke's History we are told, that upon the death of Lady Fane the estate passed to a relative of the Juxons, Sir Robert Hesketh, and that he sold it to Michael Corgan, Esq. Of this the author has had no means of assuring himself. One thing is certain, that at Lady Fane's death the manor house was dismantled. There was a three days' sale there; and it was at this time that many valuable books of the archbishop passed away into various hands, and also the chair commonly used by King Charles, which was kept as an heirloom in the family, and the block upon which the unhappy Charles suffered. Michael Corgan was a banker at Chipping-Norton, but having failed, his property in Little Compton was brought to the hammer under an act of bankruptcy. The property was thus sold in lots; and the parish passed into the hands of several proprietors. From Rudder's Hist. (1779) we obtain the following further particulars respecting the parish. Thus on taxes he gives, 'the royal aid in 1692, £66; poll tax, 1694, £25 12*s.*; land tax, 1694, £58 9*s.* The same at 3*s.*, 1770, £52 15*s.* 3*d.*' Again he states:—

'At the beginning of this century (1779) there were thirty-five houses in the parish, and about 180 inhabitants, whereof six were freeholders. Yearly births five, burials four. But on examining the parish registers, I find that in ten years,

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beginning with 1700, there were entered forty baptisms and fifty-three burials. The present number of inhabitants (1779) is exactly 242, being in proportion to the annual burials as forty-seven to one, which shews the place to be healthy.'

THE CHURCH.—'The church is a curacy (says Rudder, 1779) in the deanery of Stow. The appropriation and advowson of the vicarage belonged to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, 38 Hen. VIII. They pay £22, and Dr South has given £10 a year to the curate. About the year 1771 the college gave £200, arising from an estate given them by Dr. Strafford, to augment the living, but the money has not yet been laid out in land. The appropriation is in lease to Mr. John Davis and Richard Jordan. There is a tythe reserved upon a windmill of 1s. The church is dedicated to St. Dennis, and hath a tower on the south side.'

Monuments and Inscriptions.—On a flat stone in the chancel:—

'Mortale Thomæ Juxton armigeri, qui cœlum petiit Feb. 28, Anno Domini 1643.'

On a second flat stone in the chancel:—

'Elizabeth Pory uxor Roberti, filia Thomæ Juxon armigeri, Sacra Beatissimæ animæ Λειψανα in diem Redemptionis sub hoc marmore reposuit fœmina Christiana. Decessit XV Kal. Martii, Año ætatis trecesimo recens exacto, et a partu Deiparæ CIↃ IↃ CLII.'

On a third flat stone in the chancel, with the Juxon arms:—

'Under this stone lieth interred the body of Sir William Juxton, late of this parish, Knight and Baronet, who died the third day of February 1739, in the 79th year of his age. He was the eldest son of Sir William Juxton, Knight and Baronet, also deceased, who intermarried with Elizabeth, a daughter of Sir John Walters, of Sarsden in the county of Oxford, Bart., also deceased. Sir William Juxton the son intermarried with Susanna Marriott, youngest daughter of

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John Marriott, late of Sturton in the county of Suffolk, Esq., deceased, but has left no issue, whereby the title is extinct.'

On a flat stone in the nave:—

'Here lyeth interred the body of the Reverend Mr. John Jones, who departed this life the tenth day of February 1755, aged 57 years.

'Reader admire and copy if you can
The bright example of this worthy man,
Of manners gentle, just, humane, and free,
An ornament to Christianity:
Exempt from folly and unstained by pride,
Beloved he lived, and much lamented dy'd.'

A Monument on north side of the Chancel:—

'In memory of the Right Honourable Susanna, Lady Viscountess Fane, Relict of the Right Honourable Charles Lord Viscount Fane of the Kingdom of Ireland. She died April 10, 1792, aged 86 years. She was youngest daughter of John Marriott, of Sturton Hall in the county of Suffolk, Esq., and was first married to Sir William Juxon, Knight and Baronet, of Little Compton, in the county of Gloucester, who died Feb. 3, 1739.'

Church Dues. (From Rudder, 1779).—Procurations, 7*s.* 8*d.*; Synodals, 2*s.*; Pentecost, 7½*d.*

Benefactions. (From ditto.)—Archbishop Juxon gave the interest of £100 to the poor, which is paid by Lady Fane.

The antiquity of the old church, dedicated to St. Denis, this author has no doubt extended into Saxon times. The massive old tower of a saddle-backed shape, the appearances of an old Lady-chapel in the belfry, the old conformation of the church before it was added to, the clerestory of a later age superadded, and the quaint old windows in the chancel, all bespeak very primitive church architecture. But that this is not mere guess-work, we insert here a very curious story or legend in connection with the old church and parish, which we translated from some quaint old Latin in the Chronicon

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Johannis Brompton, taken from Twysden's Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores decem, 1652 :—

'It is said of that holy man Augustine, that when he was in the county of Oxford he came once to the village which is called Compton, to preach. On that occasion a complaint was made by the priest of the village that a certain knight had refused to pay his tithes, and being often admonished and at length being threatened with excommunication, he became the more obdurate: which, when Augustine heard, he summoned the knight to his presence and interrogated him why he refused to pay his tithes. "What is this I hear of thee, my son? why dost thou not pay thy tithes? Knowest thou not that tithes are not thine but God's?" To which the knight, being angry, said, "Who tills and sows the land? is it not I? All men know that the tenth handful (manipulus) will be his to whom belongeth the nine." To which Augustine said, "Speak not so, my son; for you know it is contrary to the practice of the faithful for you not to pay tithes. I will excommunicate you." Then turning to the altar to celebrate, he said before all the people, "I enjoin that no excommunicate person be present at the mass." Which being said, at the very entrance to the church, a body buried there erected itself and came out of its resting-place, and while St. Augustine administered mass remained immovable there. Which being noticed, the faithful present there, almost put out of themselves, came to St. Augustine to relate the occurrence; to whom he said, "Be not affrighted, but let the cross with the holy water precede us, and we shall see what it is." Then Augustine going before with the people, comes to the entrance of the tomb (cœmeterii), and seeing the dead man, says, "I charge thee, in the name of God, tell me who art thou?" To whom answered the dead man, "When on the part of God you commanded that no excommunicate person be present at the mass, the angels of God, who stand about as assiduous companions of your journey, threw me up from the place where I was buried, saying that Augustine, the friend of God, commands the

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corrupted flesh to be cast out of the church of God. For I in the time of the Britons, before the fury of the nation of the Angles had devastated this region, was patron of this village; and although often admonished by the priest of this church, I never paid my tithes. At length, excommunicated by him, I died, and was thrust into hell." Which thing when they heard, that holy man and all who were present wept much. Then said Augustine, "Do you know where the priest was buried who excommunicated you?" He replied, "He lies in this very burial-ground." "Go before us," said Augustine, "and shew us the place." The dead man preceded and came to a certain place near the church, where no sign of a grave appeared. And when Augustine and all the people followed, he said, "Behold the place; dig here and you will find the bones of the priest." At the command therefore of the blessed Augustine they dug, and found in the bottom a few bones, after a little while, almost all turned into dust. Augustine enquired if these were the bones of the priest, and he answered "Yes." Then Augustine praying for a long time, said, "That all men should know that life and death are in the hands of God, with whom nothing is impossible—In His name arise, for we have need of thee." This being said, all present saw the dust united to dust, and the bones joined to the nerves, and the very man arise. And when he stood before Augustine, Augustine said, "Do you know this brother?" He answered, "I know him, and would that I did not know him." Then Augustine said, "You excommunicated him?" He answered, "Yea, and deservedly; for always he remained a retainer, among all, of tithes in the church, and a perpetrator of much wickedness even to the last day of his death." To whom Augustine said, "You know, brother, that God is merciful, whence you also ought to have pity on the creature and image of God which has been redeemed by His blood, and who has endured so long the punishment of hell." Then delivered he to him the scourge, and with bended knees before Augustine sought earnestly for absolution. Then the dead man released the deeds committed by the other dead man. And when he was

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absolved, Augustine commanded him to return to his sepulchre and await the last day: who immediately returned, and was resolved again into dust. Then said Augustine to the priest, "How long hast *thou* lain there?" Who answered, "One hundred and fifty years or more." And he said, "How hast thou fared hitherto?" He answered, "Well, and in the delights of eternal life." And Augustine said, "Do you wish me to pray God that you return to us, and by preaching with us bring back to the Creator the souls deceived by the devil?" "Be it far from thee, Father, that you should cause me to return from my quietude to a disturbed and laborious life in the world." Then said Augustine to the priest, "Go, dearly beloved, and rest in peace, and at the same time pray for me and the universal holy Catholic sacred Church of God." Who, entering again into his sepulchre, became dust. Then Augustine called the knight and said to him, "What is it, son; do you wish now to pay your tithes to God?" But the knight, trembling, threw himself at his feet, weeping and confessing his crime, and seeking pardon. And then leaving everything, and taking the tonsure, he followed St. Augustine all the days of his life, and closed his last day in all holiness, and entered into the joy of eternal life.'

Kennett's Parochial Antiquities, p. 30, makes allusion to the foregoing legend thus:—

'One of our historians founds a long story on a Christian church and patron of it, *within the county of Oxford*, (?) above 150 years before the coming of Augustine the Monk. And by better authority, we after find that one of the most fatal mischiefs occasioned by the incursion of the Angles was the persecution of the British converts in those parts. For when the Angles took possession of Mercia, wherever they prevailed the British Christians were either martyred or expelled. That our religion flourished early in these parts does appear from the saints who were here buried, and whose shrines did long invite the ignorant and superstitious, of whom there was St. Brenwold at Bampton, St. Hycrith, a Virgin, at Cheselhampton, and St. Donanverdh at Beckley.'

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As a matter of course, the author of these memoirs does not vouch for the accuracy of so curious a story. Its value is purely a matter of tradition as to St. Augustine's visit to Little Compton, and as such worthy of note, as shewing the antiquity of the church there. But it is not improbable that such an event did take place—so far as the difference between the priest and the squire is concerned—and may probably have been referred to St. Augustine. The other details, as a matter of fiction, may have been introduced as a sort of allegory to furnish a kind of sermon or moral to the affair. But be this as it may, the instruction which it conveys is not the less effective, and may afford a striking and useful lesson to obnoxious and refractory squires. But, more especially, it would speak with trumpet-tongued effect to the mushroom mammon kings of our times, who, to gratify their overweening ambition and pander for social position, think, in their littleness of mind, there is no other means of effectuating their object but by placing themselves in opposition to the minister of God, keeping up an *imperium in imperio* in a parish, and shewing to the ignorant and vulgar that money interest far surpasses all spiritual authority. The legend in its moral aspect also affords a soothing balm of consolation to the honest and faithful Micaiahs, who are content to vegetate on 'the bread of affliction and the water of affliction' for conscience and duty sake, and with unruffled brow patiently endure the scoffs and indignities of the false and time-serving Pashurs and Zedekiahs who, like their prototypes of old, revel in the festivities of the modern Ahabs and Jezebels, and in order to secure the bounties and obtain the favours of their patrons, eagerly scrutinise their countenances, and forestall the current of their thoughts by the hollow cry of 'Peace, peace,' while the Lord God hath said, 'There is no peace for the wicked;' thus deceiving themselves and their quondam friends at the risk of their own ultimate destruction.

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As this writer alluded to the Rollright Stones as a feature of the country within half a mile of the boundary of Little Compton, to shew the antique relics in these parts, he has thought fit to append here an account of this most interesting relic of Druidical or Saxon remains, which has been kindly furnished him by a brother clergyman:—

'On the southern confines of the county of Warwick, on the crest of some high land which overlooks the village of Long Compton and the outstretching country around, are some Druidical remains, sometimes called "the King's Stanes," but more frequently the "Rollrich" or "Rollright Stones," from the circumstance of all, save an isolated stone (which is in the county of Warwick), being situated within the boundary of the parish of Rollrich or Rollright, in Oxfordshire. The stones which form the circle are fifty in number, or thereabouts; I speak with diffidence, for the saying is, that no two people can count them alike. When Camden wrote his History of the Antiquities of Britain, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he speaks of these stones as "grown ragged and very much impaired by the decays of time;" and Gibson, in his additions to Camden in 1695, says, "Except one or two, the rest are not above four feet and a half high." Since this period, they have evidently still more worn away, and become otherwise reduced in size. Some few are broken or worn level with the surface of the soil, others again have probably disappeared altogether.

'The circle is 105 feet in diameter, and the central space is planted with spruce firs. About 300 feet north of the circle is a single stone, ten feet high, which is properly called (for a reason which will presently be explained) "the King's Stane," and gives its name to the whole circle. The silly yet popular belief connected with these stones is, that a Danish prince came over to invade England; when at Dover, he consulted an oracle as to his chances of success; the reply was,

"When Long Compton you shall see,
You shall King of England be."

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Encouraged by this assurance, he, with his soldiers, started on his journey on foot, and in due time arrived at the spot where the Druidical circle now stands. His soldiers surrounded him to offer their congratulations on his bright prospects; "It is not meet," said the sovereign, "that I should remain among my subjects, I will step in advance." No sooner however had he advanced to within a few feet of the spot from whence the present town of Long Compton meets the eye, than a malicious spirit turned the whole party, king and soldiers, into stone; hence we see why, in all probability, the foremost stone is styléd *King's* Stane or Stone.

'About 1000 feet to the south-east of the circle are five more stones, of larger dimensions, standing close to each other, three still upright, and two prostrate on the ground; they are called "the Whispering Knights," and are believed to have been knights or horsemen in the unfortunate party. It is said that one of these whispering knights was once conveyed away to afford a passage over a brook, and that the person who committed the sacrilege had no rest day or night until he restored the stone to its original position. It required however five horses to drag it away, but only one to drag it back! The whole circle might have shared the same fate some time ago, on account of the annoyance derived from trespassers, and the damage they did to the fir trees when first planted.

'Originally there was a considerable bank of earth thrown up around the whispering knights, and the present tenant of the farm, on clearing the soil away, found that these stones were supported in the ground by long stones driven edgeways into the soil after the manner of pitching. The King's Stone is stated by the common people to have been the chief idol, and the whispering knights to have been the sacrificial altar. The stone of which they are composed is not the stone which is worked from the quarries of the country, but apparently coral rag, which belongs to the inferior oolite, and therefore brought from some distance.

'In connection with this curious vestige of *Druidical* antiquity, for such it is now usually considered to be, and not an

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erection in memory of some great victory, as Camden supposed,[1] it may be mentioned, that some years ago the writer picked up in a ploughed field in the parish of Barton-on-the-Heath, in an arable field, about three miles distant from the Rollright stones, a polished sacrificial instrument or celt of flint, as perfect in all respects as when it first came from the hands of the artificer. This was probably used in augural rites pertaining to Druidical worship; it is now in the possession of Mr. M. H. Bloxam, of Rugby, by whom it has been faithfully etched.'

[1] 'The following is Camden's opinion respecting the origin of these stones. He considers they may have been monuments erected by Rollo, the Dane (who afterwards conquered Normandy), when he was called in by King Athelstan to assist him against some rebels that had taken arms against him, whom having vanquished and reduced into obedience to their prince, and perhaps, too, slain the designed king of them (who possibly might be persuaded into this rebellion upon a conditional prophecy of coming to that honour when he should see Long Compton), erected this monument in memory of the fact,—the great single stone for the king, the five stones for his principal captains, and the mound for the mixed multitude slain in battle. Plot will not allow they were sepulchral, in which case he says there would have been a tumulus in the middle, or a stone altar. The antiquary Ralph Sheldon, who dug through the middle of it, found nothing to throw any light on it. Camden says it cannot have been a place of judicature, such as was used in old times in the northern nations, for it has no stone erected in the middle for the judge to sit; besides, he continues, these places of judicature were always of an oval form, and not to be entered but at two sides, whereas Rollright is circular, and shews no signs of such gates. Plot considers, that though it was a triumphal pile, set up as a monument of some great victory, yet at the same time that it served for the election or inauguration of a king; for, first, it is placed on rising ground, which was an advantage for prospect, enabling the electors to witness the solemn manner of election; secondly, it is made of stone of no regular figure; and thirdly, it bears no inscription.'

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CHAPTER II.

Recent History of Little Compton.

We brought down the history of Little Compton to the time of Michael Corgan as lord of the manor. In 1794, a new phase came over the parish, by an Act of Parliament called the 'Enclosure Act.' By it commissioners were appointed for the purpose of 'dividing and enclosing the open and common fields, and other commonable lands and grounds, within the parish of Little Compton, and to make an award on the same.' The commissioners were John Chamberlin, of Cropredy Lawn, in the county of Oxford, gentleman; Richard Davis, of Lewknor, in said county of Oxford, gentleman; and William Beman, of Addlestrop, in the county of Gloucester, gentleman. The principal proprietors who signed this award, after the commissioners, are—Michael Corgan; the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church; Robert Southby; Richard Davis, of Ottley; John Davis; William Davis; Richard Jordan; Richard Davis, of Kitebrook; Thomas Davis; Richard White; and William Harbidge. It is signed and dated March 14, 1795.

The Lordship of the Manor.—By the award an allotment was made to Michael Corgan, Esq., as lord of the manor. It consisted of 'one plot of ground, being part of the said open fields and commonable lands by the said Act directed to be divided and enclosed, situate in Little Mead quarter, containing by statute measure four acres and twenty perches, as the same is now admeasured, staked, and set out, bounded on the south by a certain old enclosure called Poole Close, belonging to the said Michael Corgan, and on the west,

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north, and east, by the fourth allotment hereinafter described and awarded to the said Michael Corgan for his said estate in possession: which said last described allotment so set out and allotted to the said Michael Corgan, is in the judgment of us the said commissioners a full satisfaction and compensation of and for all his right and interest as lord of the manor of Little Compton aforesaid, in and to the soil of all the waste lands within the said manor.'

When Mr. Corgan became bankrupt, about the year 1811, his property in Little Compton, consisting of about 800 acres in his own possession, besides copyhold and life-interests, was all brought to sale under an act of bankruptcy. The lands of the parish were thus subdivided and sold in parcels, and along with these went the lordship of the manor. This latter was purchased by Mr. Jones of Chastleton; but it appears he never obtained possession of the allotment under the award made to the lord of the manor. This property fell into the hands of Mr. William Harbidge, who in 1839 bought the Manor Farm, or Manor Estate, from Sir John Shelly, who held a mortgage lien thereon. From Mr. William Harbidge this estate descended to his two sons, the younger of whom, Mr. James Harbidge, is now the sole proprietor and occupier of the Manor Estate, together with the manorial rights.

Mr. William Whitmore Jones, the present occupier of Chastleton House, has kept up his right as lord of the manor. His solicitor has held periodic Court-leets in Little Compton, and assessed quit-rents on the occupiers of waste lands, irrespective of the conditions of the allotment made by the award, and hereinbefore recited. Whether any such can be legally assessed, is not a question for this writer to determine. But, in stating the case of the state of the manorial right, he is bound to affirm something peculiar thereto; for he verily believes that, in law, the title, and the estate conferring such title, usually accompany each other. The matter therefore resolves itself thus—that Mr. Whitmore Jones of Chastleton is the present

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lord of the manor by prescription, *de jure;* but Mr. James Harbidge, by a tenure of thirty years' standing, *de possessione.*

THE MANOR FARM AND OTHER ESTATES.—The manor house, with estate, contains 288 acres. It has always been a separate and distinct holding from other property in the parish, whence this writer believes it to be the original holding belonging to the church which was computed at twelve hides of land in the time of William the Conqueror. Mr. James Harbidge is the present owner and occupier. He has added to the estate, and holds now somewhere about 520 acres, or nearly one-third of the parish. The manor house, which he inhabits, is an ancient Elizabethan structure, built with a centre and two wings. The Juxon arms are still preserved over the entrance. Some modern window-sashes have been introduced, as the writer learns, during the time of Mr. Corgan's possession. But, in other respects, the house remains as it was in the days of the archbishop. Mr. Harbidge has recently somewhat improved the interior apartments; and having a taste for antiquity, has preserved and fitted up the large entrance hall with ancient heraldic equipments. It is fortunate for the sake of archæology that his father purchased the estate, as a wealthy tradesman in the neighbourhood had been in treaty for its occupation, and purposed to raze the ancient structure to the ground, and erect a modern villa on its ruins. As it now stands, we still have the pleasure of viewing the old oak-wainscotted sitting-room looking into the churchyard, which seems so well to link together the present with the past.

The Tithe property.—At the time of the award it was necessary to make compensation to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, who held the rectorial rights, for the value of one-fifth part of all arable lands, and one-ninth part of all meadow and greensward land, and for all common rights in the open fields and commonable lands, &c.: and thus two

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allotments were made, the one of 126 acres, 3 roods, 1 perch; the other, 97 acres, 1 rood, 21 perches—total, 224 acres and 22 perches. This award also speaks of full compensation for all tithes, *great and small.* Thus it would appear that the Dean and Chapter held both the rectorial and vicarial rights in the parish; the only reservation made for the curate, were the mortuarial rights, Easter offerings, and surplice fees. The present holding of the Dean and Chapter is 277 acres, and is called the Oakham Farm, under a lease of twenty-one years, renewable every seventh year, to Mr. John Baker of Rollright, who now occupies the leasehold himself. How the surplus between the award and present holding arose this writer has no means of ascertaining.

INDEMNITY LAND.—This is a farm of 137 acres, in the occupation of Mr. James Harbidge. It is returned as the property of James Hesketh, Esq., and called Indemnity Land, because of an old settlement of £4000 to build a church at Seizincote in Gloucestershire, should the same ever be required. In the meantime, the rent is paid to the solicitor of Mr. Hesketh.

The amount of acreage in the parish is 1607 acres, and the remainder is held by various persons, farmers and tradesmen. Number of houses inhabited, 90; which shews nearly a three-fold increase upon a century ago. There is an extensive brewery established and conducted by Mr. Henry Lardner, who has recently erected a substantial dwelling-house contiguous thereto. The gross estimated rental of the parish is £2826 19*s.* 6*d.*; the rateable value, £2483 4*s.* 6*d.*

On examining the present registers, the number of burials for ten years, from 1858 to 1867, is 53, being an annual average of $5\frac{3}{10}$; the baptisms for same period are 125, or an annual average of $12\frac{1}{2}$: but, inasmuch as there are several children born to Dissenters, which are not baptized, the average would be about 15, thus shewing a natural increase of 10 per year,

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to say nothing of the constant influx of strangers in a parish where the property is held by so many persons. The population at this time is about 500, and the proportion of children something marvellous, there being fully, if not more than 100, or one-fifth, who attend school.

Of old inhabitants now resident in the parish there are, Mr. John Rouse, farmer, aged 84; Nannie Dyer, 90; John Tidmarsh, 89; his wife, 84; Betty Beal, 88; Thomas Colman, 80; his wife, 72; and the grave-stones in the churchyard shew many between the ages of 80 and 95, thus proving, as was remarked a century ago, that the place is very healthy.

The village is well supplied with tradesmen and artisans. The population chiefly consists of agricultural labourers. With the exception of the brewery, no other kind of manufacture exists; but there is, notwithstanding, a good trade carried on among the shopkeepers.

Guardian of the Poor.—Mr. James Harbidge.

Churchwarden.—Mr. John Mace.

Waywarden.—Mr. Henry Lardner.

Overseers.—Mr. John Mace and Mr. John Bartlett.

The Register dates from the year 1762.

THE PARSONAGE.—This writer obtained the presentation to the living of Little Compton on April 29, 1857, and arrived there the same day. He visited the parish a month before, when the place was offered to him. It certainly did not present any striking features of attraction. The site upon which the parsonage is erected consists of about an acre and a half, and had been taken from the lessee at the renewal of the lease, some five years before, by the Dean and Chapter, with the view of the intended parsonage. The then incumbent was unwilling to risk the expense of building, and as the buildings upon the site consisted of dilapidated farmsteads and hovels, and were to be razed and used in the new structure, no attention was given to them. The appearance, therefore, of the

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property was the picture of desolation, and afforded an inviting pursuit to the parishioners for fuel and pasture. In this interregnum, encroached upon on all sides, it seemed nobody's property, but everybody's liberty. The land was overgrown with stinging-nettles, and redolent with fœtid odours.

And this picture of utter neglect and desolation in no faint terms represented the moral aspect of the place. The writer's first introduction to the church did not at all seem to disperse the gloom, or brighten his hopes respecting his future field of labour. The building seemed in the last verge of decay, and perhaps had been so for fifty years before. The north wall was out of the perpendicular, and only preserved its equilibrium by the assistance of iron bars and pinions. The interior presented a range of olden pews, so decayed as to be all falling in. The stone floor, especially in the chancel, was completely verdant, and wet, so that without the assistance of matting it was almost dangerous to stand long for the duty. And, to crown the picture, there was a brass band in the gallery; an oak table below the east window in the chancel, uncovered, which appeared to have been improvised from some adjacent laundry; and *no book* for the Communion Service. On enquiry, the writer was informed that that part of the church had only been used when Holy Communion was celebrated, some three times a year, and then the book from the reading-desk was transferred to the chancel, as he was obliged to do on his first Sunday's duty.

It was in this dreary and uninviting field where the writer found his lot had been cast. He was not, however, discouraged, but immediately and diligently set himself to work, encouraged by warm and brilliant promises of support and assistance from the influential inhabitants and landowners. These, however, were never realized. Within three months of his residence he discovered, that instead of support he should have to meet with virulent opposition. But he nerved himself for the struggle, feeling assured that he had not more

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to encounter than St. Paul upon his entry into Athens, Corinth, or Ephesus. The foundation-stone of the new parsonage was laid on August 3, about three months after his arrival, by himself, assisted by Mr. Ford the Rural Dean. The Bounty Office, however, arrested his course. It appears that the Dean and Chapter had granted £600 some two years before, met by a benefaction of £100 from Queen Anne's Bounty—there the whole sum was locked up, and the incumbent discovered that the site had never been surveyed, nor conveyance executed. It happened, however, fortunately that he had another £100 added by a benefaction from the Warneford Trustees a month or so before. Thus he was enabled to proceed, and by the assistance of the bishop obtained the payment of the £100 till all preliminaries were settled. The title was delayed through the death of the Chapter clerk, and was not executed till December 1857. The house was now roofed-in; but this writer was taken seriously ill from a sudden chill, occasioned by the damp lodgings in a cottage where he was domiciled, about the end of October. He was therefore obliged to take a trip to Jamaica, for which he started on January 18, 1858, and arrived on February 7. The sea voyage completely restored him, and he returned on July 2; but, on arriving at Little Compton, found the house uncompleted. He, however, entered it in the beginning of September, not willing to endure his lodgings for another winter. The house was not completed till the spring of 1859. The first cost was £900: of this Christ Church, £600; Queen Anne's Bounty, £100; Warneford Trust, £100; remaining £100 disbursed by incumbent. Since then, to wit in 1867, the house has been very much improved by alterations and improvements internally, and the completion of the requisite out-buildings, together with boundary walls to the street on the north side, rendered absolutely necessary from the rough and rude manners of the people. This involved an outlay of £250, making total cost £1150.

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Of this last sum £200 was obtained out of a benefaction from Christ Church, met by Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1866, and £40 from Warneford Trustees. And now (see plate) there is a substantial and commodious parsonage, with grounds laid out and garden, all complete. Where dilapidated barns and sheds stood, a beautiful building occupies their place; where swamps and pestiferous odours arose, there stand in pleasant verdure a lawn and shrubbery; noxious vapours give place to cultivated shrubbery, which emits a far different savour. Thus for skill and cultivation and the art of man. Would to God this writer could affirm the same of the moral change in the parish, and speak of the spiritual rose blossoming and emitting its fragrance in the desolate wilderness of Little Compton. By God's mercy all the appliances have been supplied—parsonage with resident clergyman (the first after a lapse of upwards of a century, as the gravestone in former nave tells the tale), an excellent church, and good schools. But, alas! gross neglect of a century's growth has left its sad traces behind. And this writer may well take up the lamentation of the Christian poet:—

'Lord, in Thy field I work all day,
I read, I teach, I warn, I pray,
And yet these wilful wandering sheep
Within Thy fold I cannot keep.

'I journey, yet no step is won—
Alas! the weary course I run!
Like sailors shipwreck'd in their dreams,
All powerless and benighted seems.'

The rank fallow ground had to be broken up, and though the seed be sown, yet 'an enemy while men slept sowed tares also.' Thus the rank soil sends up in every direction strong vegetation of noxious weeds, threatening to suffocate and exterminate the tender wheat. The diligent and faithful husbandman finds his time quite occupied in endeavouring to eradicate them. In the meantime the tender plant is dwarfed and unhealthy. This writer must therefore leave the task to another historian of a future generation to chronicle

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the rise, progress, and growth of spiritual life in Little Compton. It will be for him to state the case, and speak of the patient endurance of his predecessor, gifted with faith and the Holy Ghost, who manfully and courageously held his ground while engaged in a most deadly conflict with the combined powers of darkness, and to tell the tale of the '*wretched plague-spot*,' which once corrupted and depraved both young and old, being a thing of the past; and that allegiance to Mother Church had taken the place of former disobedience and rebellion, and infidelity and heathenism; and then to wind up with the doxology, 'Thanks be to God, which hath given us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

THE CHURCH.—The state of the old church has been already described. The incumbent kept his eye steadily fixed upon it, and he felt an inward reproach, after he was quietly settled in his new house, as the words of Haggai the prophet came to his mind, 'Is it time for you, O ye, to dwell in your ceiled houses, and *this house* lie waste?' And he felt this the more when he administered the Holy Communion, to think that the Lord God should be served with pewter vessels, when almost every householder of the present day was served with silver. By the month of June, 1859, plans were submitted to the Warneford Trustees, in application for a grant for the restoration of the parish church. It was then proposed to repair the old chancel, preserve the tower, take down north wall, and enlarge by a new aisle on that side and new roof on nave; an arrangement which, though not satisfactory to the incumbent, seemed the most feasible, considering the large amount required for rebuilding the church, and the disinclination of the parishioners to meet him with a generous and liberal contribution. In this dilemma the providence of God turned the scale. The Warneford Trustees, well aware of the state of the church, thought restoration impracticable, and deputed Lord Redesdale, one of their body, to visit Little

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Compton and examine the church, and confer with the incumbent on another plan, that of entire rebuilding. His lordship performed this office, accompanied by his sister, the Hon. Miss Mitford, since deceased, who on this occasion took a sketch of the old church and manor house, which she afterwards had lithographed and sold, and applied the proceeds (£10) to assist the incumbent in church expenditure (see plate). At this interview, the architect being present, it was arranged, by the advice of his lordship, to rebuild the church, with a promise of £300 from the Warneford Trust for that purpose. In accordance with these views, new plans were prepared by the architect, and approved by two of the trustees, Lord Redesdale and Mr. Dickins of Cherrington. They were forwarded to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, who now agreed to give £300 also; then to the Church Building Society, and a grant of £100 was announced; afterwards to the Diocesan Society, and a grant of £80 obtained—making a total of £780; to which the bishop, Dr. Baring, by letter volunteered £20—making £800. All this was accomplished in time to submit the case to the April Vestry, 1860, commonly called the Easter Vestry. The incumbent now proposed a rate of £300 in the parish, to meet the liberal and generous sum secured, but he met with extreme coldness and apparent determined opposition. What with this and other troubles in the parish, coupled with the over-anxiety of the incumbent, there supervened an attack of brain fever; and the writer within a week after had to leave Little Compton, and did not return till, by the blessing of Providence, he was completely restored to health, in the early part of April 1863, being exactly a lapse of three years.

In the interim a stipendiary curate was put in charge of the parish and parsonage by Dr. Baring, then bishop of the diocese. He tried every possible means to carry out the erection of the new church, and even advertised for tenders and secured a contractor. At his instance many vestries were

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called, but ended in nothing. Dr. Thomson succeeded Dr. Baring, and he urged on the matter with all his influence. The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, seeing the difficulty of the case, increased their grant to £350. Dr. Thomson volunteered £15, and Lord Redesdale £10, thus increasing the former amount to £875. Thus fortified, the curate made renewed attempts, but the only tangible effect produced was a resolution of Vestry, dated June 2, 1862, couched in the most stringent terms, throwing the whole responsibility upon the curate, and exonerating the parish from any further claim than £200. This resolution the curate signed as chairman, followed by several of the parishioners, which evidently shewed that he was prepared to accept the terms, however stringent. But, fortunately for him, he obtained the advice of older and wiser clergymen in the neighbourhood, who dissuaded him from undertaking the experiment, for, as the sequel proved, he would have had to meet a deficiency of £175.

Thus the matter remained in abeyance till the writer's return in 1863. At an *adjourned* Vestry held on June 2, he succeeded in carrying a resolution to levy by rate £300, with a rider for exoneration from further claim for building purposes appended. The same day the incumbent applied for a faculty to proceed, and put himself in communication with the architect and contractor; but he very soon discovered that his success was but temporary, and that he would not be allowed to proceed in peace. The parish churchwarden and leading proprietor in the parish declined to sign the resolution of Vestry, and, instructed by the other proprietors, entered a caveat in the Bishop's Court against the faculty. On hearing from the bishop (Dr. Ellicott) that the faculty could not be granted under the circumstances, the writer applied for and obtained an authority from the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, as patrons and rectors of the living, to take down the chancel. He accordingly set the contractor to work on June 29 (St. Peter's Day). As soon as this was discovered,

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this writer was served with a legal notice (by the solicitor of the parish churchwarden on behalf of the proprietors) to desist, and a similar notice served on the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. The incumbent, however, did not desist, but proceeded till the chancel was taken down. Being requested by the resident Canon at Christ Church not to proceed further till the law on the case could be ascertained, he sent the workmen away for a time. It was during this interval that the proprietors, inclusive of the College lessee and two other dissenters, shopkeepers, met together and signed a protest in the Vestry book, headed by the parish churchwarden, to this effect:—

'We, the undersigned, being proprietors of messuages, lands, and tenements within the parish of Little Compton, do hereby, in pursuance of the statute 59 George III, c. 134, s. 24, signify our dissent from the proposed pulling down and rebuilding the parish church of Little Compton, and from the resolution of the Vestry held June 2, 1863.'

This protest is inserted immediately after the minutes of that Vestry. The Vestry book at that time, and for years before, was in the keeping of the parish churchwarden. This writer, however, on learning this occurrence, obtained possession, and lodged it in the parish iron chest, to prevent any further furtive or illegal entries being inserted therein.

Things had now progressed so far, the chancel being taken down, the parishioners began to think that discretion was the better part of valour. It was quite true that an attempt was made again at restoration. A builder was obtained at Chipping-Norton to furnish a plan and estimate for this purpose, at a cost of £900; and it was thought by this arrangement, with £875 already raised, a better bargain would be obtained than the project of the incumbent, which involved an outlay of £1200. But the intrepid resolution of this writer outwitted all such manœuvres. A Vestry was summoned on July 9, at which, by the invitation of the incumbent, Mr.

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Dickins of Cherrington, one of the Warneford Trustees, was present. This gentleman proved of invaluable assistance, for he plainly informed the Vestry that the Warneford grant was given on the express understanding that the church should be rebuilt, in accordance with the plans approved by the Trustees, and if restoration were attempted, the grant must lapse, and the parish undertake the entire expense. And this was followed by a reiteration to the same effect on the part of the incumbent, with respect to the other grants. Upon this reason resumed her throne, and, in a very full Vestry, the architect and contractor being present, it was unanimously resolved, 'That the parish church be rebuilt according to the plans and specifications of Mr. E. G. Bruton, architect; that the tender of Mr. Henry Cowley be accepted, and the work proceeded with;' and again, 'That the parish raise a sum of £200 to meet the grants already secured.' It was further resolved, 'That a committee be appointed to superintend the execution of the work, consisting of the incumbent and churchwardens, with the Rural Dean, the Hon. and Rev. H. P. Cholmondeley, and the Rector of Barton, the adjoining parish, the Rev. A. W. Haddan;' an arrangement which proved of invaluable assistance to the incumbent during the difficulties which subsequently supervened in respect of further calls on the parish in the execution of the work.

The nave was now partially taken down, and preparations made for laying the foundation-stone on August 13. The account of this interesting ceremony we quote here from the Moreton Free Press of the 15th, a local paper:—

'*Little Compton. Laying the foundation-stone of the parish church.*—The parish church in this village had for years been in a dilapidated state, besides being an unsightly and inconvenient edifice. At various times efforts had been made to rebuild it, but the project was delayed for the want of sufficient means to carry out the object. We are pleased to say that all obstacles have at length been removed, and that

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the inhabitants will soon have a handsome and commodious church, alike creditable to the spirit of the place and the present enlightened age. The project was first started some years ago by the present incumbent, but a severe affliction interrupted him in the good work. His curate, the Rev. E. Woodyatt, set to work with much zeal in the good cause, and advertised for tenders, but insurmountable difficulties arose, insomuch that the undertaking was abandoned. On the return of the incumbent to the parish, happily restored to health, he at once took steps to carry out the alterations; and the whole of the old edifice is now being taken down, with the exception of the tower, which it is intended shall remain. The foundation-stone of the new church was laid on Thursday last, the 13th, by the Right Hon. the Lord Redesdale, in the presence of a number of the clergy and inhabitants. At twelve o'clock a procession was formed at the parsonage house, consisting of the incumbent, clergy, churchwardens, and others, among whom we observed Lord Redesdale, the Hon. and Rev. H. P. Cholmondeley (rural dean), Rev. H. Lanphier, and Rev. A. W. Haddan, &c. On arriving at the church, the ceremony commenced with the incumbent, who briefly addressed the company on the object for which they had assembled, remarking that he felt extremely grateful to Lord Redesdale for the interest he had taken in his work in the parish. His lordship had, through the Warneford Trust, not only helped him in the erection of the parsonage house, and again with a large donation to the church, but by his friendly counsel had enabled him so to react on others, as to furnish a large sum exceeding £800 towards the undertaking; and now, to crown it all, he had come to give his generous countenance and support, in laying the first stone. The rev. gentleman then feelingly alluded to the affliction by which it had pleased God to interrupt his labour, while it had also pleased the Almighty Hand again to restore him to health to resume his work where he had left it. It was quite true, he remarked, that the new church was being built in troublous times, perhaps not so peacefully as the old building, now in a state of demolition. But this was nothing more than what

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happened at the erection of the second Temple, for the workmen had to hold the trowel in one hand and the sword in the other. Yet amid these difficulties, there arose a house dedicated to God, surpassing the former in beauty and glory. In comparing thus great things with small, he doubted not that the new edifice in that parish would be found an ornament to the place, while it would redound more to the honour and glory of God than the former. He hoped and trusted that, when finished, it would become the means in God's hands of preparing and fitting together living stones in that spiritual building, not made with hands, eternal in the heavens, Jesus Christ being Himself the chief corner-stone.

'The incumbent and rural dean having read several appropriate prayers, asking God's blessing on the undertaking, and two of the clergy lessons selected for the occasion, Lord Redesdale placed a bottle in the cavity of the under-stone, and proceeded, under the direction and assistance of the architect, as the upper stone was being lowered, to apply the mortar with a silver trowel obtained for the occasion, in an extremely skilful and workmanlike manner. His lordship having completed his task, declared the stone truly laid. And after the recital of other prayers from the service used, and the singing of a hymn, as at the beginning, the ceremony was concluded by the rural dean giving the benediction.

'The bottle deposited underneath the stone contained some coins of the present year, together with a printed copy of the service used on the occasion, and a scroll of parchment on which was the following inscription:—"The foundation stone of this church, dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul,[1] was laid on August 13, 1863, by the Right Hon. Lord Redesdale, of Batsford Park, Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords. Rev. W. H. Marah, incumbent; James Harbidge and Thomas Pardington, churchwardens; E. G. Bruton, architect; Henry Cowley, builder."

[1] The new church was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul at the time of the drawing of the plans in 1859. The incumbent was not aware that the old church was dedicated to St. Denis. There were no records to indicate that fact. It was merely known as the parish church of Little Compton.

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'The east window, we believe, will be a beautiful work of art, but at present a huge ancient elm tree, several yards in circumference, stands close to the chancel, which it is thought will spoil the effect of the window, unless removed.[1] The total cost of the alterations is estimated at £1200.'

At the conclusion of the service, Lord Redesdale kindly handed the incumbent £5, to assist towards an extra charge for plinths to the first course of the church, omitted by the architect in the estimate, involving a further outlay to which, by his lordship's influence that day, the churchwardens consented.

The church now progressed rapidly. It was however discovered that the £200 raised by the parish would be insufficient. At an adjourned vestry held on February 6, 1864, it was resolved that a new roof should be put on the tower, and new tiling—that the external face be repaired—the internal walls as seen from church be plastered—the white-wash cleaned off the arch and the jambs and head of window—the window glazed—new wood ceiling to first stage, with trap-door, and a doorway formed in western side, to prevent ingress as before through the church; also, that the bells be rehung, and further, that a sum of £30 be expended in erecting a wall around the churchyard, with two gates of oak and posts, with wrought iron work; further, that a sum of £40 be expended in necessary furniture for the church. To meet the outlay, a rate of 1*s.* 3*d.* in the pound was levied.

At another vestry, held on November 3, the accounts of

[1] This old elm tree was cut down as the work progressed. It appears in the drawing taken by the Hon. Miss Mitford. There were also two large walnut trees on either side, pollards, which from their huge trunks indicated a time almost coeval with the church. These were cut down by the present incumbent in the winter of 1859, inasmuch as they became a great nuisance, for it had been the custom in the season-time for the boys and men to congregate about the churchyard and amuse themselves in throwing stones at the trees for the nuts, and this especially on Sunday mornings, even in the time of divine service. All attempts to put down the practice proved unavailing, so the incumbent applied to the bishop and obtained permission to cut them down.

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the church building were presented, and a further rate of fourpence in the pound levied to meet the balance due.

Thus, with the consecration fees, the parish contributed the sum of £375. The total cost of the church was about £1235.

To this must be added a sum of £20 laid out by the incumbent himself, in filling up and levelling the churchyard, the greater part of which was formerly a swamp; laying the grave-stones flat on brick foundations, and forming new roads to church and chancel. In consideration also of the amount raised by the parish, he undertook to provide a new Communion service for the church. The former vessels were a tankard and a paten of old pewter, a small silver chalice, so old and worn as to be unfit for use, and a silver dinner plate, with Lady Fane's arms, no doubt presented by her, and used for an alms-dish. These the incumbent had melted down by Messrs. Keith, and used for the new plate; which consisted of a large alms-dish (with the keys and sword, emblematic of St. Peter and St. Paul, and inscription on rim, 'All things come of thee, O Lord, and of thine own have we given thee'); a credence paten, and a water-jug, all of the old pewter gilt;—of silver a new flagon to hold a quart; a large chalice, with cross and monogram I. H. S. on base; a paten, with symbol of the lamb, and inscription, 'O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.' These vessels are fitted up in an oak case, with room left for a second chalice and paten, and with a brass plate on the lid, with this inscription:—'Presented to the Rev. William Hennessey Marah, incumbent, for the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Little Compton, as a thank-offering for his merciful restoration to health and his flock, April, 1863.'

This service, after deducting for the old silver, cost £34. The Dean and Chapter contributed £10. The balance was disbursed by contributions of private friends, and the overplus of the collection at the consecration, after liquidating necessary

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and contingent expenses; to which we may add, the kind contribution of the Hon. Miss Mitford.

It now only remains to notice, before the account of the consecration, the peal of bells in the tower. They consist of five, one somewhat larger than the rest. One of them unfortunately is cracked, and causes a jar in harmony when rung, which is a great pity, for it might have been recast at a small expense when all the bells were rehung.

These bells appear to have been hung in the year 1720, inscribed on one of them; but one to have been recast, as it bears date 1810. On one is inscribed, 'God preserve the Church of England;' on another, 'Robert Cowley, churchwarden, 1810;' on a third, 'Peace and good neighbourhood;' on a fourth, 'Ruddon, Gloucester;' on the fifth, 'Abraham Rudhall, bell-founder, 1720.'

The church was completed by March 1, but was not consecrated till Whit Tuesday, May 17, 1864. The author here quotes from the Oxford Chronicle of the 21st an interesting account of this, taken by their Editor and Reporter from information furnished on the spot:—

'*Re-opening of Little Compton Church.*—On Tuesday last, the ceremony of consecrating the newly-erected church of this village was performed by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. As this was the first opportunity which his lordship had of becoming acquainted with his clergy at this extremity of his diocese, an unusual degree of interest was manifested, both by the clergy and laity, in the event. And though the primary attraction in the day's proceedings was the service incident to the opening of the very neat and substantial church, which has just been completed through the perseverance and energy of the incumbent, the Rev. W. H. Marah, yet there are many objects of an historical character connected with the parish which deserve mention, and afforded much interest to the visitors. The fine old manor house, in which Juxon, Bishop of London, and spiritual adviser of Charles I in his last moments, lived, is of course the most

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conspicuous. That worthy prelate resided at Little Compton during the troublous times succeeding the death of the king; and from the monuments in the church, we learn that his successors continued to reside there for several generations. The building itself is in excellent preservation; many of the rooms still have their ancient and most elaborately carved wainscottings. In the large hall is a collection of old chairs, a dining-table, swords, armour, a black-letter Bible, and other curiosities, more or less identified with the early and present history of the mansion and the village, though it is said that Bishop Juxon's Bible, or the one used in his ministrations upon the unfortunate king, is in the possession of Captain Whitmore Jones, of the adjoining parish of Chastleton. By the courtesy of the present occupier, Mr. Harbidge, access is kindly given to a portion of the building, the inspection of which can scarcely fail to afford great interest. The original gateway from the high road still exists, and a portion of one of the rows of fine yews which furnished an avenue to the house is yet standing. During the last few years many lasting improvements have been effected in the village, no doubt consequent upon the erection of a beautiful and substantial parsonage-house by the present incumbent. Thus we were told of improvements in roads and cottages; but the grandest of all, is the rebuilding and enlarging of the parish church, which had become necessary from the dilapidated state of the original structure and the increase of the population. Little Compton has recently been transferred from Gloucestershire, for civil purposes, to the hundred of Kineton, in the southern division of Warwickshire.

'The old church, which was a most dilapidated edifice, has been nearly pulled down; it consisted of nave, chancel, and tower, the latter alone being preserved. The tower is of the period of the fourteenth century, but has had buttresses added at the corners, of later workmanship and of poor design. It contains a peal of five bells, which have been rehung, and is covered with a high-pitched roof gabled on the north and south sides. The old nave was originally of Norman work, but it had been partially rebuilt, and had had windows in-

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serted in nearly every subsequent style. It had a flat roof covered with lead, and a double tier of windows, the upper ones resembling a clerestory, and being probably of the sixteenth century workmanship. The chancel-arch was of horse-shoe form, with Norman semi-columns and capitals of poor design. The chancel was of fourteenth century character, and the old windows of the south side, which are very quaint, have been re-used; in fact, the south wall of the new chancel may be said to have been rebuilt as it originally stood. The north side and east end were of late character, and of no pretension. The font is of plain thirteenth century work, in good preservation, and has been retained. The new church, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the Right Hon. Lord Redesdale during the autumn of last year, extends eastward about thirty feet farther than the old one; and the nave is lengthened to that extent, and is about twenty inches wider. It now consists of nave, chancel, tower, south aisle, and vestry, and is of fourteenth century character throughout. The south aisle is two bays in length, and has two arches with stone columns and responds dividing it from the nave, with the increased length of which it corresponds. The roofs are all open-timbered, and of high pitch, covered with brindled Staffordshire tiles. The floors of the passages are of tiles, Maw's being used in the chancel, and encaustic tiles in the sanctuary. The whole of the masonry is of local stone. The church is seated with open timber benches varnished: they are of a plain substantial character, and those in the chancel are of pitch-pine. The altar table is of old oak, with panels handsomely cut in symbolic forms. The pulpit and credence-table are of Bath stone. The old church, including the western gallery, would hold 172; the new one will accommodate 302, 218 of the sittings being free and unappropriated. The architect is Mr. E. G. Bruton, F.I.B.A., and the builder Mr. Henry Cowley, of Oxford. The bells have been rehung by Mr. Henry Bond, of Burford.

'The Consecration Service commenced at 11 o'clock; at which hour a procession of clergy was formed at the parsonage. The Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr.

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Ellicott) was received at the church porch by the chancellor, registrar, incumbent, churchwardens, and a number of the respectable inhabitants of the village and neighbourhood, where the petition praying the bishop to consecrate the church was presented by Mr. James Harbidge, parish churchwarden. The bishop, attended by the chancellor (C. J. Monk, Esq.), the registrar (T. Holt, Esq.), and the clergy, then entered the sacred edifice, the bishop and clergy repeating alternately the verses of Psalm xxiv. The sentence of consecration was read by the chancellor, signed by the bishop, and ordered to be registered in the usual form. Then followed the Consecration Service, which is that usually adopted in the diocese, and included two hymns from Mercer's collection, "Lord of the worlds above," and "Christ is our Corner Stone," which, together with the chants and responses, were very efficiently given by a choir composed of friends from Chipping-Norton and Long Compton, Mr. Bennett, organist of Chipping-Norton, presiding at the harmonium.

'Prayers were read by the Rev. W. H. Marah, the incumbent; the Lessons by two of the clergy of the neighbourhood, and the Epistle and Gospel by Archdeacon Clerke and the Rural Dean, the Hon. and Rev. H. P. Cholmondeley.

'His lordship then preached to a crowded congregation from Acts ii. 4: "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." In the course of an eloquent, plain, and practical discourse, which described with much force the incidents attendant upon the great miracle of the day of Pentecost, his lordship said it afforded him peculiar pleasure to address them on that day,—a day which would be inseparably bound up within their hearts,—and to congratulate them on the completion of a work, in which all was so fair, so commodious, and so well-ordered; presenting a great contrast, as he had been told, with what had existed in times past. His lordship said they had reason to thank God that He had put it into their hearts to do so much for the glory of the Church of Christ, to which kind friends and neighbours and all other classes in the parish had so nobly done their

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part. His lordship, in concluding his discourse, expressed a hope that the hearts of the congregation would be moved as suddenly and as lastingly as was the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, to appreciate the blessings and comfort they would experience in worshipping God in so commodious and well-ordered a building as that in which they were assembled. There were many small things lacking to render the edifice complete; and a small sum—a very small sum—was wanting to cover the cost of the structure, and he hoped they would do something that day which would never be forgotten, viz. to pay off the debt, and relieve their minister from anxiety and responsibility.

'The Venerable Archdeacon Clerke read the offertory sentences, the alms being collected by the clergy and churchwardens. The Holy Communion was then celebrated—the new service being used for the first time. The altar services used on this occasion were presented by the Rev. A. W. Haddan, Rector of Barton.

'All the clergy, with a goodly number of visitors and some of the parishioners, remained for the celebration, which was performed by the bishop.

'At the conclusion of the Morning Service, luncheon was served in a marquee erected on the lawn in front of the parsonage, the arrangements for which were confided to Mr. Wells, of the Unicorn Inn, Moreton-in-Marsh, and reflected the highest credit on his taste and judgment as a caterer. Choice wines and iced beverages were handed round to the company, which, owing to the excessive heat of the weather, were very refreshing and acceptable. The tables were graced by a number of ladies from the neighbourhood, with the clergy, among whom were the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, the Venerable Archdeacon Clerke, the Chancellor of the diocese, the Registrar, the Bishop's Chaplain, the Rural Dean, the Revs. R. W. Hippesley (Stow) H. Rendall (Rollright), J. R. Rushton (Hook-Norton), E. F. Chamberlayne (Aston Magna), T. Winter (Daylesford), W. C. Barwis (Chipping-Norton), J. H. Rankin (Chipping-Norton), W. H. C. Lloyd (formerly of Natal), C. Causton (Stretton-on-Fosse),

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— Stockdale (Milton), J. W. Sharpe (Broadwell), H. N. J. Chase (Moreton-in-Marsh), R. W. Denne (Tredington), P. H. Boissier (Barcheston), Benjamin Smith (Long Compton), the Mayor of Chipping-Norton (T. Hopgood, Esq.), &c. &c. The Rev. W. H. Marah occupied the chair, and gave in succession the toasts of the "Queen," the "Prince and Princess of Wales," the "Army and Navy."

'He next gave the "Health of the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol," which was received with much cordiality. His lordship, in responding, said he felt much gratified by his visit to that beautiful spot, and by the kindly and agreeable manner in which he had been received among them. He was also very happy to meet so many of the clergy of the diocese of Oxford, and also of Worcester, and himself and his brethren would gladly welcome them "over the border" on any similar event. His lordship expressed his regret that his stay was so brief among them. It was quite true, as the chairman had informed them, that the day was the one which he had set apart for his own relaxation from the heavy duties of his office, but the urgent letters he had received from his friend Mr. Marah had induced him to forego all considerations of self, and he had travelled that day nineteen miles on horseback from Gloucester, for the purpose of being present—a ride rewarded by the scenery of the country, as well as the pleasure of the event of that day. It had been mentioned to him that the fine old manor house adjoining the church was the residence of the counsellor and friend of King Charles I, and the knowledge of that fact would lend an additional interest to his visit to Little Compton. His lordship concluded by proposing the "Health of the Chairman."

'The Rev. W. H. Marah responded, and said it would be easily comprehended how highly he was gratified by the proceedings of that day, at a time when they had completed a work on which he had so long set his heart. Four years ago plans were prepared and everything was settled for proceeding with the work, but it was deferred. After a lapse of three years, owing to his severe affliction, he rejoiced that he was able to move again and with success. He had re-

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ceived very kind letters, generous subscriptions, and great encouragements to go on; and chief among those liberal donors were Lord Redesdale, on behalf of the Warneford Trust, and the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, the patrons of the living, who were that day represented by Archdeacon Clerke, and who would kindly, not only represent, but preach that evening, to shew the interest taken by the authorities of Christ Church in the parish. There was a small sum wanting to complete the work, but he doubted not that the liberal spirit which had hitherto been manifested towards him would enable him to free himself from all difficulties and liabilities.

'The chairman then gave "The Architect and Builder." Mr. Bruton, in returning thanks, said it afforded him much pleasure to be able to congratulate the company on the consummation of the work—a work in which he had taken more than ordinary interest. He had tried with the means within the reach of Mr. Marah to make the work as complete as possible; and on behalf of Mr. Cowley he could say, that as builder he had used his utmost endeavours to make the structure sound and substantial.

'The company then dispersed previous to evening service, which took place at five o'clock. The Venerable Archdeacon Clerke preached the sermon, which was earnest, practical, and truly catholic in spirit, from John iv. 24: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

'At the conclusion of this service a collection was made, which, with that in the morning, amounted to £36 14*s*. The fund was further augmented to the extent of £3 6*s*. by the sale of photographs of a spirited sketch of Bishop Juxon's church and house, from the pencil of the Hon. Frances Elizabeth Mitford of Batsford Park, and most of the visitors secured a copy of this interesting memento.

'Mr. James Harbidge provided his work-people and tenants with a dinner at the Red Lion Inn, to commemorate the interesting day in Little Compton; and on the following day the incumbent held an entertainment on the parsonage lawn,

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where the whole parish was invited, and greatly enjoyed themselves after their refreshments to the strains of music till a late hour. Thus all was done to note the event and impress the interesting ceremony on the minds of all, both young and old.'

THE SCHOOL.—Coeval with the consecration of the church, the incumbent had secured the services of a certificated mistress, and opened a school. This was not his first attempt. In 1859 he had fitted up one of his cottages adjoining the parsonage for this purpose, and at the time he was taken ill in April, 1860, he had a most flourishing school under an able mistress. As soon, however, as he was removed from Little Compton the school collapsed. There was no one in the parish to take up and persevere in his work, no one to undertake the responsibility. Thus the school was broken up before the advent of the curate in October following. He discovered the great want of a parish school, and from the difficulties which he encountered made such representations to the authorities of Christ Church, as induced them to make a promise that they would support the erection of a proper school in this parish so soon as the incumbent recovered, or the living became vacant. At that time they could do nothing, as the church was in hand, and grievous difficulties stood in the way of its erection. Thus the way was paved for the incumbent on his return. He was not one to leave a work undone upon which he had already made up his mind. But he could do nothing while the affair of the church had to engross all his attention and energy. The school in the cottage was opened in May 1864. There the Sunday school was held, and there also he had a night school during the winter months, an arrangement rendered necessary from the uncouth and uncivilized habits of the young people. It was in this night school that the incumbent's mind was enlightened upon the sad and neglected state of the growing population of the parish. In his absence it was impossible for the mistress or

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any female to preserve order. And this was not to be wondered at; for this writer has no hesitation in stating that no well-bred lady could have lived in the parish at that time without being shocked and unhinged at the open vulgarity, and indecency, and obscenity of an uncouth, uncivilized, and almost barbarous people, who had neither the fear of God or man before their eyes. It was, therefore, so far fortunate that the incumbent was unmarried.

This writer did all he could for the then present emergency. In the meantime he was projecting his plans. Thus he opened up a correspondence with the Committee of Council on Education, and also had several interviews with the Treasurer of Christ Church. The result was that the Dean and Chapter made a grant of £25, with a loan of £100 (afterwards remitted) on the erection of a school. With these means, two cottages adjoining the one used as a temporary school were converted into an excellent schoolroom. The roof being of old oak was propped up, and the walls rebuilt. Thus a good room, 29 feet by 16, was obtained, with sufficient elevation to obtain Government aid, and the *first* annual grant was made from July 1, 1865, to March 1, 1866.

In the meantime the incumbent proposed to the Committee of Council to give up the entire block, originally five cottages, less two used for the school. His idea was to make one trust deed, and convey the entire block at once, provided Government would meet his benefaction with a grant of £300 to complete all the requisites for a substantial school with teacher's house. This old block of buildings, we must explain, was the old parsonage house of a century ago. Since then it had been used for a farmstead, and afterwards converted into cottages for the poor. They were to be taken down, and the old materials applied to the erection of the parsonage house; but the incumbent repaired and let them, for the purpose of adding to his small income, and this, too,

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as cottages were very scarce in the parish. It was so far fortunate that he made this arrangement, as eventually they became serviceable in supplying a temporary, and afterwards an efficient enduring school, with residence.

The Committee of Council accepted the proposition of the incumbent by requiring him to send in a survey of the buildings and land proposed to be conveyed, and afterwards proceeding with the trust deed. It however afterwards turned out, after all preliminaries were settled, trust deed executed, and plans approved for the erection of class-room and teacher's residence, with suitable offices, playgrounds, &c., that the grant, together with that for schoolroom already built, was only £163, thus leaving a large deficit, obliging him to have recourse to the Dean and Chapter, as will be observed in the proceedings at the opening of the school.

By the trust deed, dated January 1, 1866, and registered in the Charity Commission Office, the incumbent, without valuable consideration, by the consent of the bishop, and Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, conveyed the site, consisting of schoolroom already built and the adjoining block of buildings, and playgrounds and teacher's garden, to the clergyman and churchwardens of Little Compton for ever, for educational purposes as a Church of England school.

The managing committee therein named are the clergyman as chairman, his curate, if any, the churchwardens, and the Right Hon. the Lord Redesdale of Batsford Park, William Whitmore Jones, Esq., of Chastleton House, Frederick Colvile, Esq., of Barton House, and Mr. James Harbidge of the Manor House, Little Compton,—with power to add, or fill up vacancies, as occasion may arise.

The first stone of the new structure was laid on June 29, 1866 (St. Peter's Day), a short account of which we extract from the Moreton Free Press :—

'*Little Compton. Archbishop Juxon's School.*—The foundation

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stone of this school was laid on Friday the 29th, St. Peter's Day. It was a very interesting ceremony, the service being the same as was used at the laying of the foundation stone of the church, only adapted to the present occasion. The incumbent performed the office, assisted by the Rev. Henry Lanphier, Vicar of Long Compton, the Rev. Mr. Boissier of Barcheston, and the Rev. W. Barwis, Curate of Chipping-Norton. In the stone were inserted a few of the current coins of the realm, and a bottle containing the following parchment:—"Archbishop Juxon's School, Little Compton, the authorized National and Parish School. This foundation stone was laid on St. Peter's Day, in the year of our Lord 1866, and in the thirtieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, by the Rev. William Hennessey Marah, Incumbent, Theological Associate of King's College, London. Edw. G. Bruton, Architect, Fellow of the Society of British Architects. Henry Cowley of Oxford, Builder."'

The entirety of the buildings, with playgrounds laid out, master's garden, and boundary walls, was completed in the spring of 1867; and we have only now to append an interesting account of the religious and formal opening by the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol on August 6 following, as given by the Oxford Chronicle from the pen of a special reporter:—

'*Opening of Archbishop Juxon's Schools at Little Compton.*—The formal opening of the new National and Parochial Schools of Little Compton, by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, took place on Tuesday last. The village of Little Compton is situate at the southern extremity of the county of Gloucester, about two or three miles from the Addlestrop station of the West-Midland Railway, and is a place of some interest from its association with Archbishop Juxon, who was lord of the manor, and who retired thence after the tragic death of the ill-fated Charles I, where he remained in quiet retirement till the restoration of Charles II, when, as the reward

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of his devotion to the Stuart dynasty, he was elevated to the See of Canterbury. His successors, the Sir William Juxons, all lie interred in the church, and the fine old manor house in which the archbishop resided still exists in good preservation, and is inhabited by Mr. Harbidge, a substantial farmer in that locality. Juxon was successively Vicar of St. Giles's, Rector of Somerton, President of St. John's College, Dean of Worcester, and Bishop of Hereford and London. He attended the king during the whole of his trial, and accompanied the unfortunate monarch to the scaffold. The archbishop died in 1663, and was interred in the chapel of St. John's College, near the remains of Archbishop Laud.

'The new school, which is dedicated to Archbishop Juxon, consists of a schoolroom 29 ft. by 16 ft.; a class-room 22 ft. by 16 ft., fitted up with a gallery to accommodate seventy children; and a teacher's house, consisting of good parlour, kitchen, pantry, three bedrooms, and suitable offices. There are distinct and separate offices for boys and girls, and also separate playgrounds, all walled-in from the public thoroughfare, and completed in accordance with the Government regulations. There is likewise a bell-turret, with bell attached, to class room, and an opening left for a clock to strike on the same bell. The architect was E. G. Bruton, Esq., of Oxford, and the builder Mr. H. Cowley of Oxford. In addition to a contribution of £70, the incumbent, the Rev. W. H. Marah, has given the site, with previous buildings, being part of his glebe, and comprised five cottages, which has deprived him of their rental, equivalent to £20 a year. The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, the patrons of the living, contributed the munificent sum of £225; the Committee of Council on Education, £163; the National Society, £49; the Diocesan Society, £35; and there yet remains about £40 or £50 to liquidate the entire cost of the undertaking. Much credit is due to the incumbent for his liberal and praiseworthy exertions to provide for the spiritual and educational wants of the parish. Under his auspices the church has been recently restored, and now the parishioners are provided with a building in which their children may obtain the advantages

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of a sound education, religious as well as secular. The foundation stone of the school was laid on June 29 last year, by the incumbent, with religious ceremony, and solemnly dedicated to Archbishop Juxon, and the new building will, it is hoped, revive and ever perpetuate the memory of the great and good man who, both in life and in death, was truly a munificent benefactor.

'The proceedings in connection with the opening of the school commenced with divine worship in the morning, in the parish church. There was a goodly congregation, but the extreme inclemency of the weather, the morning being hopelessly and intermittingly wet, prevented the attendance of the clergy and more wealthy friends of religious education from the neighbouring parishes. Prayers were said by the Rev. W. H. Marah, incumbent. The other clergymen who took part in the service were, besides the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Dr. Ellicott), the Rev. Canon Aston, Rector of Todenham, the Rev. A. W. Haddan, Rector of Barton, the Rev. H. Bullocke, Curate of Moreton, and the Rural Dean, the Hon. and Rev. H. P. Cholmondeley. Full choral service was performed by an efficient choir from Long Compton and some of the neighbouring parishes.

'The sermon was preached by the bishop of the diocese, who selected his text from Luke ii. 52: "And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man." His lordship commenced his discourse by alluding to the particular circumstance which had brought him amongst them upon that occasion, and by expressing his thankfulness at any opportunity that was given him for addressing simply and practically, yet with all Christian earnestness, those who were under his spiritual charge in the diocese. This was not the first time he had visited the parish. The first time he came amongst them was upon the occasion of the happy restoration of the parish church, and now, at the earnest desire of their good minister and pastor, he had come amongst them for the second time to express with them his feeling of joy that they had erected close at hand a building for the education of the young. He had come amongst them to rejoice

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with them at the completion of the work, and to ask God's blessing upon the undertaking, After mentioning the fact that he had received the parchment which solemnly and formally conveyed the schools to the parish for ever, and dilating upon the importance of celebrating the Lord's Supper, which bound hearts and souls together, his lordship proceeded to apply the words of the text, with special reference to the importance of Christian education. There were two thoughts or hints which he thought were strongly suggested to them by the text. The first was the mystery that our blessed Lord when on earth vouchsafed to learn; and the second was His yielding a loving and cheerful obedience to His earthly parents. But, beside these, there was one general thought which was suggested by the passage, namely, that there was no real education for children except it was based and rested upon religion. There was no real teaching which was worth the name of teaching which did not rest upon religion. A good deal was said in these days about secular education, but all such teaching as that must break down, for there was a time when all earthly teaching would be of no avail, when it would be of no use whatever unless they were the sons of God. He had known cases in which education without religion was almost worse than useless. He believed that the education which would be given in these new schools would be based upon Christianity, and he rejoiced therefore that he had been enabled to come amongst them, and he hoped that God's blessing would rest upon the schools as well as upon the parish. His lordship concluded a sermon, marked by great simplicity and earnestness, with some practical lessons, after which a collection was made on behalf of the building fund, followed by the celebration of the Holy Communion.

'Between the morning and evening services the bishop and clergy, with some of the leading parishioners, were entertained by the vicar at an elegant luncheon in the school room. The vicar presided, and amongst the company were the Bishop of the diocese, the Rev. Canon Payne Smith and Mrs. Smith, the Revs. Haddan, Aston, Bullocke, Cholmondeley, Lanphier, De Lisle, Dobrée, Clarke, &c., &c.

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'The vicar, in proposing "The Queen," said he was sorry to say that we were not living in peaceful times so far as the Church was concerned, but he was sure they would all as Christians express their wish that the Queen may be enabled by the wisdom of her counsellors to steer the Church through the troubles through which she was passing.

'The health of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the royal family having been drunk,

'The chairman said he had now to ask the company to join with him in drinking most cordially the health of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who, in spite of the extreme inclemency of the weather, had come amongst them upon that occasion. He trusted that the sermon which his lordship had preached in the morning would have a good effect in the parish, so far as the education of the children was concerned. The toast was cordially drunk.

'The bishop thanked the vicar for the kind and friendly way in which he had mentioned his name, and also the company for the kind greeting which he had received upon that occasion. He assured them that it gave him much pleasure to come amongst them upon all occasions when they could meet together for the purpose of a common rejoicing. He was glad to have the opportunity of saying a few words to them in that well-constructed and spacious schoolroom, and to congratulate them upon the good work which was being carried on throughout the diocese. He came amongst them in the usual spirit which he found to prevail wherever he went in the diocese. He did not allude merely to the local Church, but to that real great and increasing work which was pressing seriously upon them. We were living, as the vicar had remarked, no doubt at a time of great responsibility in the history of the Church, but he thought they had great reason to believe that, by the blessing of God, the anxiety which was now afflicting the Church, arising from earnestness and zeal being carried beyond due limits, would be removed. There were dark clouds hanging about them, but he thought he could see a golden light all around the horizon. He thanked them for the kindly interest which he everywhere met with in

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the welfare of their bishop; and with regard to the parish of Little Compton, he was glad to see signs of a kind Christian feeling, and that Christian sympathy and feeling which prevailed in the parish was a true representation of that which existed in the Church at large. Amid the dark clouds and a few drops of rain he thought he saw signs of a bright sunshine beyond. He begged, in conclusion, to propose the health of their kind entertainer upon that occasion, his good friend Mr. Marah. This was the second time, as he had already reminded them in his sermon, that he had come amongst them, and if there was a good reason for doing so, he should have much pleasure in visiting them a third time. The vicar requested him some time ago to come amongst them on the completion of the restoration of the church; he had now come to take part in the opening of the school in which they were assembled, and he had much pleasure in asking them to drink, with all Christian heartiness, Mr. Marah's good health. The toast was cordially drunk.

'The chairman, in responding, said he had met with great difficulties in carrying on his work, for on two occasions he had been obliged to leave the parish on account of his health, and on both occasions he had been able to return with fresh energies to resume his labours amongst them. He trusted that as long as his health lasted he should be enabled to carry out the work which was committed to his charge in the parish, and that he should be enabled to complete it thoroughly and successfully. With regard to the schools, he remarked that it would have been impossible for him to carry out the undertaking if it had not been for the generous and munificent support he had received from the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, and he begged to take that opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the kind sympathy and good-will which they had shown towards him in the matter. They gave him, in the first instance, a large and munificent gift, and with this sum, and the amount he received from other sources, he thought he should be able to complete the school. He found, however, that he should only receive £163 from the Committee of Council on Education, instead of £300 which he

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expected, and he was therefore obliged to ask the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church for a second donation. He was thankful to say that they cordially came forward and assisted him, and now the work had been brought to a successful termination. He concluded by proposing the health of the Rev. Canon Payne Smith, who, in conjunction with the bishop of the diocese, was a member of the Royal Commission on Ritualism, who was to be the preacher at the afternoon service, and who was the representative upon that occasion of their munificent benefactors, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church.

'The Rev. Canon Payne Smith returned thanks, remarking that he felt it both a duty and a privilege to be present upon that occasion—a duty, because, as the rectors and patrons of the living, the authorities of Christ Church ought to assist as far as they were able in carrying out every good work in connection with a parish from which they derived a portion of their income; and it was a privilege, because amid the various and important works which had been going on in the parish, he trusted that the erection of these new schools would be a great and powerful influence for good. He felt that they were deeply indebted to the incumbent for the work which had been carried out in the parish. When he first became acquainted with it there was no parsonage and no school attached to the living, and the church was in a dilapidated condition; but now the church had been restored in a manner that was creditable to the parish, and these schools had been erected and means provided for the education of the rising generation in those principles of virtue, morality, and piety, which form at once the foundation of happiness in a state as well as in the world to come. If there was one time more than another when it was necessary to extend the advantages of education, it was at a time like the present, when a great number of the population was being admitted to a larger share in the political government of the country; when it will depend upon their love to the Church and their own good conduct, whether England will maintain the position which she has hitherto enjoyed among the nations of the world. He

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rejoiced, therefore, to see these excellent schools attached to the parish, where he trusted the children would be trained in those principles of love to God and their duty towards their neighbour as well as themselves, without which they would neither enjoy happiness in this world, nor discharge the duties which God has placed upon them; enjoy His peace and comfort, and the absence of which would make shipwreck of their hopes for the future. There was one point he wished to allude to, and that was the insufficient maintenance that was provided for the incumbent. It was the wish of the Dean and Chapter to see all the livings connected with Christ Church provided with sufficient endowments for the maintenance of the incumbents, but they were placed in considerable difficulties, because their property was burdened with a greater amount of responsibility than they could adequately meet. It was granted to them in the later years of Henry the Eighth, and consisted of the refuse of monasteries; and such bits and scraps which were not thought good enough to be seized by the king and his courtiers were given to Christ Church. Their property was scattered all over the kingdom, in the manufacturing districts, and among large populations, and it was their wish, as far as they possibly could, to provide something like an endowment for the ministers; but, while they were endeavouring to do their duty towards those places, they were anxious not to forget smaller parishes. They had a large property in the neighbourhood of London which in due time would be available, and he was anxious that it should go towards the endowment of small incumbencies like Little Compton. Their means were limited, but still, if something could be done to meet the wishes of Christ Church, he thought the incumbency of Little Compton might be placed upon a much better footing than it was at present. The principle of the Gospel was that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and those who ministered in spiritual things ought to be adequately provided for. The fund he had alluded to had only become available within a few years; it was gradually increasing, and he trusted that before long this incumbency would be raised to £300 a year. They were desirous of

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assisting those parishes which were willing to help themselves, and if an effort was made to increase the income of the living to £250, £300, or £400 a year, he would promise them that, as the Treasurer of Christ Church, he would do his best to meet their wishes.

'The bishop said he was the President of the Diocesan Association, which made grants towards the endowment of small livings, and if an application was made to that society he promised them his aid in enabling them to meet the liberal offer of Christ Church.

'The company then separated.

'The sermon in the afternoon was preached by the Rev. R. Payne Smith, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, from St. Matthew v. 4. It was an excellent discourse, and the voice and enunciation of the preacher seemed to arrest attention in a marked manner.

'The offertory at both services amounted to £18 10s. It doubtless would have been considerably larger had the weather not prevented several influential persons from attending. The incumbent had hoped to raise £45, to meet a small balance which he has to make good.

'We must not omit to add that the church was most tastefully decorated by Mrs. Harbidge, the wife of James Harbidge, Esq., of the Manor House, formerly the residence of Archbishop Juxon. This work attracted the special attention of the bishop, who expressed himself highly pleased.

'In the evening there was a joyous village festival in the school-room and parsonage grounds. The Little Compton Band was in attendance, and tended much to enliven the proceedings.'

Since the foregoing account of the formal and religious opening of the school, the incumbent has been enabled to collect the sum required, by kind contributions in the neighbourhood. Thus the parsonage, church, and school are free from any incumbrance whatever. The only debt is a sum of about £250 on the *working-expenses* of the school, which the writer hopes he may yet be enabled to liquidate, so as to

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hand over all these buildings to the parish, free and untrammelled. And should this work meet the eye of those whom God hath blessed with worldly substance, perhaps the thought may arise in their hearts, whether it would not conduce to the honour and glory of God, that the school dedicated to so noble and generous and munificent a character and benefactor, should not be endowed and made a free school for ever to the poor of the parish, as a tribute and memorial for the lasting and ever-living perpetuation of him who personified charity both in life and in death.

In bringing this chapter to a close, the writer feels moved to offer a few observations on the great question of the day—the necessity for, and the propriety of, a comprehensive scheme of State Education.

That there is a great need for education in England, all parties are agreed. It has been admitted that this great and rich and powerful country stands behind all other civilized nations in education. It would not therefore be necessary to argue this point, for this writer has only to refer the reader to his missionary career in Little Compton, and to supplement that with an experience gained in a large London district, superadded to former labours in agricultural and manufacturing districts. The need has been long felt, but it has grown beyond a need, and assumes the shape of a paramount State necessity—a safety valve—upon the passing of a new Reform Act granting additional privileges and conferring new political power to large and uneducated masses of the community. But the difficulty arises, in a country acknowledging civil and religious equality as the basis of its constitution, how or by what means a comprehensive system of State education should be carried out. As a staunch promoter of education, this writer ventures in all humility to submit the lineaments of such a scheme.

First of all, we need the appointment of a responsible

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Minister of State, to superintend the education department of the country. At present things are in a very unsatisfactory state. No one is responsible, and correspondence is carried on with a secretary, who shelters himself under the authority of 'their Lordships' in the plural number, when it is a well-known fact that their Lordships scarcely see or know anything of the nature or merits of the correspondence. In other words, it is *irresponsible* management vested with the air of *responsible* authority. A Minister of Education is therefore imperatively required. He ought to be invested with full powers, with responsibility to Parliament. These powers should invest him with authority to make enquiries into details—to close schools where unnecessary or injuriously managed, or inconveniently situated, and to erect others where needed, or in more central positions. Annually he should make a statement to Parliament, detailing the progress of his actions, state and condition of schools, and the financial aspect of affairs. Thus Parliament would be advised in a manner similar to the annual budget, and the legislature would be enabled to make further provision from time to time as the exigencies of the case may demand. This scheme therefore provides for a network of schools all over the land. These schools to be classified in *three* departments—the National or Elementary School, the Middle Class School, and the University Extension School.

But before unfolding his views on these heads, this writer would affirm the proposition, that compulsory education and compulsory rating should form the basis of such a scheme. At present, we have allowed the population of England to grow up in, and form habits of, indifference to education. Farmers and tradespeople, and one might almost say, all employers of labour, object more or less to education: their opinion simply is, that education puffs up, and interferes with their market for labour. Again, the labouring class, from long neglect, have no innate pride or stimulus for the educa-

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tion or advancement of their children. In Scotland, where a national system of education has been evolved for the last three hundred years, there is a national spirit, and a national self-denial for the love and advancement of education. It does not require detail to argue this question. The fact is self-evident and patent to all, when we assert that labouring men succeed in introducing their sons into the three learned professions—an aspect of education unknown in England. Thus we must for a time legislate by compulsion to attain what Scotland has acquired by voluntary and national *esprit de corps*.

The mode must be by a penal clause, imposing a fine on any one employing a child under twelve years of age. This is absolutely necessary to check the rapacity of both employers and employed. And this writer does not think such a provision either arbitrary or repulsive to the genius of the English constitution. The principle is acknowledged and acted upon in reference to factory children and half-time schools; and the same is tacitly admitted in the Revised Code, when the Committee of Council reject all children under twelve years from their register of night-school attendance, thus implying that under that age they should be in the day-school. And, moreover, if that free country, the United States, thinks compulsory education needful, why should we in England start aside at the idea of a similar provision under a similar necessity?

Having so far settled this point, as the fundamental basis of a sound, comprehensive, and effective system of education, we pass on to unfold our scheme. As we said before, this comprises a threefold gradation, viz. National or Elementary, Middle Class, and University Extension Schools.

1. The National or Elementary should be the parish school of every parish or regularly constituted district. Wherever there is a church, there also should be a school. In the case of small parishes contiguous, a plan might be adopted of

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amalgamating schools; but only under dire necessity, wherever there might not be found sufficient scholars to form an efficient and effective school in a parish. The parish school should be vested in trustees for ever for educational purposes; and should be under the management of a local board, composed of the clergyman, churchwardens, and three or more freeholders or householders in the parish. This scheme would also make provision for the introduction of the *conscience clause*, as assented to by the House of Lords last session. In our present difficulty there can be no help for this in a general system of education.

The National school to be supported—

(*a*) By endowments and school dues.

(*b*) By a local rate, half to be paid by the landlord and half by the tenant. This rate in all cases to supplement the deficiency between *a* and *c*, to meet the current expenses of the school—a provision which would afford additional local stimulus.

(*c*) By the Government annual grant upon inspection.

With respect to *a*, this writer thinks the Revised Code faulty in deducting endowments, as this procedure imposes a great barrier to charity, and cripples the effectiveness of a school. The present system is an utter mistake; it, in fact, inflicts a punishment on a school because some kind charitable person has thought fit to help it.

With reference to *b*, no school should be entitled to a local rate unless vested in trustees and secured for education. This provision would have the effect in time of relieving parishes from the annoyance and difficulties of private schools, which, for the most part, are built by mushroom squires to obtain social position, and in their working are made to contribute more to personal vanity than effective education.

In regard to *c*, the present standards of the Revised Code might be retained, with an additional stimulus, as proposed in the bill of last session; and it might be a matter for con-

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sideration whether an addition to the three R's should not be made in respect to religious and Scripture knowledge. This grant might, as now, be continued to *all* schools subserving the purposes of the Revised Code, viz. *proper* buildings and a *competent* teacher, with a relaxation doing away with the necessity for a certificate. Until we can obtain a new order of teachers, better trained and more piously educated, it would be as well to throw open the schools to competition, paying by results; with this reservation, that the *local* grant should be contingent on the employment of a certificated teacher.

2. The Middle Class school comes next in our gradation. These should be dotted all over the country in central and convenient situations. They should be adapted principally to the education of the farmer and tradesmen class—a class of persons much neglected hitherto. And thus it becomes a matter of serious enquiry whether the State should not make some provision for so great a need. The commercial genius of England, and the avenues open to all classes for the improvement of their social status, are continually sending up into high position and political influence persons who possess none other but their money qualifications. The want of education serves as a barrier to their social advancement, and this in turn operates on their minds to array class against class, and to evolve those radical and unconstitutional principles which, for the most part, become a distinguishing characteristic of their order, and serve to endanger the unity and the conservatism which should bind society together in the social compact.

These schools, then, should take an order of education *above* that of the National school. Classics, mathematics, history, geography, natural sciences, should form the basis of their syllabus. Candidates would thus be prepared for entrance into the University. And the stimulus given to education would prompt parents to pass their children into the third

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stage. A certain number of scholarships, exhibitions, and fellowships at the two Universities should then be placed at the disposal of the Minister of Education, who, upon reports of good character and merit, should have the privilege of nomination to the Universities, and a similar patronage with respect to drafts from the National school.

3. Then for the third stage, we should have the University Extension school. Thus the avenue would be open for a transfer from the National to the Middle Class, and from this to the University. It is quite obvious now to every intelligent thinking person, that our Universities must shortly become national institutions, irrespective of class or creed. Institutions founded for the benefit of the poor, cannot continue to be absorbed entirely by the rich. They should be open to all classes; the only proviso being, that a sufficient examination, with good character and merit, should form the passport for entrance.

A scheme of this kind, not unlike the American system, would, under Providence, be the means of removing present heart-burnings and jealousies, and tend more than anything to bind society together. A stimulus would be afforded to education generally, and the humblest peasant would know that by self-denial and industry he can have the advantage of passing his children on to the highest school in the land, and the highest positions in State and Church. With such a scheme in full work, we should hear no more complaints respecting the deficiency of candidates for Holy Orders, nor yet for catechists and school teachers.

The age of admission into the Middle Class school should be fixed at twelve, and to the University at eighteen; two years would then be sufficient for the B.A. degree, say at twenty, when young persons could pass into commercial or other employments; those for the learned or special professions would have three years more for pursuing technically the specific studies of each profession. No one under any

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circumstances should be admitted to the Universities to learn what they should have already attained in the lower schools—but only after a competent examination. Thus *all the schools* of England would be put on their metal, and supply proper candidates.

It now only remains to speak of the ways and means. It would be advisable for Parliament to take up a loan of some *five* millions to set the scheme in operation. This would be called the Education Loan, for the purposes of building operations, and for the foundation of scholarships or exhibitions to the Middle Class school. The benefit would be so great, and the clergy released to so great an extent, that one might venture to suggest that a special clerical tax might be imposed, say 1 per cent. on *clerical* incomes under £300, 3 per cent. from £300 to £600, and 5 per cent. on all above.

With this scheme we also need subsidiary reforms. The first must be the entire abolition of the sale and traffic in livings. It seems wonderful to think that in our enlightened age the moral feeling of the religious community is not aroused at beholding the advertisements inserted in our clerical papers, wherein the auctioneers emblazon the merits of their wares. To say nothing of the moral degradation to which this unholy traffic exposes the clergy, it is simply an act of gross injustice to the *labourer* in God's vineyard, as it places within the control of the rich the absorption of a large amount of Church preferment. Moreover, it constitutes a *right of property*, which the owner has in law a perfect liberty to apply as he thinks meet; whereas it must be obvious to any religious mind that Church property was never intended to be applied but for Church purposes. The repeal of this abuse would therefore tend more than anything else to bring back people's minds to primitive times and primitive notions, and dispel that hazy gloom which encircles society as now constituted, and which makes social position, and the enjoyment of what is called in polite language

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'the amenities of civilized life,' the great desideratum of clerical ministrations.

With this abuse should follow the determination of all leases and all lives upon Church property. If some arrangement could be entered into to effectuate this, the Church would not be wanting in sufficient funds for the due ministration of divine service, nor yet for the education of the people, which is also a divine and a Church work.

Restitution is also a divine and a sacred principle. Where wrongs and iniquities have been perpetrated, the State which has sanctioned them is in duty bound to make restitution. There can be no difference between a private and a State wrong; if anything, the offence becomes greater when it obtains the colour and semblance of State authority. Under these circumstances, the State which perpetrated is bound to redress the wrong. Therefore this writer makes bold to assert that restitution should be made in respect of Church property upon which sacrilegious hands have been laid and taken possession. Thus he would propose that a State tax for the purposes of education should be laid upon all lay impropriators —all possessors of Church property—of five per cent. for a term of twenty years.

With this and the clerical tax, he sees how a sum might be raised to meet the interest and repay the loan of five millions. He sees how the State may be purged of a political delinquency, private consciences eased from a heavy and serious burden, and a public benefit derived to all classes of her Majesty's subjects.

One can only suggest. The author does not arrogate political power. But if a humble Jewish maid might suggest to the illustrious Syrian general advice which issued in both bodily and spiritual health, surely it may not be presumptuous in him to offer religious impressions for the cure of a great spiritual disease, corrupting and depraving the body commonwealth, and incurring the anger of an offended and long-suffering Deliverer and Preserver.

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The task of actuation must be submitted to that great master-mind destined to be the future premier and law-giver of England. As a refined scholar, he has realized the value of education; as a statesman, he has sympathized in the defects and wrongs of the body politic; as a Christian, he knows and feels that injustice must needs bring retribution on individuals as well as upon a state. If therefore his eagle eye has penetrated into the anomalies and wrongs of the Sister Isle and discovered a remedy, surely it will be quick and ready to discern the defects and anomalies near at home, and apply a soothing and penetrating panacea. To his mighty intellect, to his comprehensive mind, to his statesmanlike power must we all look for the reformation of abuses, for the introduction of a sound and comprehensive system of education. He can mould into definite form and shape what this writer can only delineate in a crude and undigested state.[1]

[1] These words were penned in the month of June, 1868, with an almost prophetic glance. Since then the general election has taken place, and the advent of Mr. Gladstone to power, with the passing of the Irish Church Bill. He has now promised a comprehensive system of education, which will no doubt be introduced early next Session.

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CHAPTER III.

The Charities of Little Compton.—Rents, Profits, and Income of the Living.

Fuel Allotment.—The rise and nature of this charity will be better explained by quoting the provisions made in the Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1794, for dividing and enclosing the open and common fields and other commonable lands and grounds in the parish of Little Compton, and for constituting the commission to make the award:—

'Whereas the poor residing within the said parish of Little Compton aforesaid have, for some years now last past, used and exercised the liberty of cutting of furze and other fuel growing within and upon certain parts of the said commonable land, hereby intended to be enclosed, to be spent and consumed by them in the nature of firebote, in their dwelling-houses within the parish of Little Compton aforesaid, and not elsewhere; and the said proprietors being desirous that some provision might be made for the said poor people, as a satisfaction for the loss and extinguishment of the privilege so enjoyed by them as aforesaid: be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said commissioners and their successors, or any two of them, do and shall, and they are hereby authorized and required, to ascertain, set out, and allot unto and to the use of the said Michael Corgan, Robert Southby, John Roberts, esquires, Richard Davis of Kite-brook, in the parish of Chastleton, in the county of Oxford, gentleman, Richard Davis of Ottley Hill, in the parish of Hooknorton, in the said county of Oxford, gentleman, and the said John Davis, William Davis, and Thomas Davis, their heirs, such plot or plots of land not exceeding ten

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acres of the said open and common field, as in the judgment of the said commissioners, or any two of them, shall be thought a full satisfaction for such liberty so exercised by the said poor as aforesaid. And from and after such allotment or allotments, so to be made in satisfaction as aforesaid, shall be made, all liberty and right of cutting furze and other fuel as aforesaid shall cease; and the said trustees and their heirs shall stand seized of the said land so to be allotted, in satisfaction for such liberty as aforesaid, upon trust, from time to time to let and demise the same, for any term or number of years not exceeding twenty-one years, for the best and most advanced rent that can be got for the same, to any tenant or tenants who shall be willing to take and occupy the same, and to receive the rents and profits thereof; and from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to apply the same for the purpose of buying fuel, which fuel so to be purchased shall be distributed in such proportions, unto and amongst all such of the poor people as do now or shall hereafter reside within the parish aforesaid, as to them, the said Michael Corgan, Robert Southby, John Roberts, Richard Davis of Kitebrook, Richard Davis of Ottley, John Davis, William Davis, and Thomas Davis, or the major part of them, shall seem meet.

'Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, that when and as soon as the said trustees hereinbefore nominated and appointed, or the trustees to be elected in pursuance of this act, in lieu of those or any of them respectively, shall be by death reduced to three in number, then and in such case, from time to time as it shall so happen, it shall and may be lawful to and for the surviving trustees to elect and choose other persons residing in the parish aforesaid to be trustees for and concerning the premises, in the room and stead of the persons so dying; and that immediately after such election, the said surviving trustees shall, by proper assurances in the law, convey and make over the said lands and grounds so to be allotted as aforesaid unto two or more persons, to the use of themselves and the other trustees so to be elected respectively, and their

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heirs, who shall stand seized of the same, upon such and the same trusts, and to and for such the same ends, intents, and purposes, and subject to such and the same power as is hereinbefore declared of and concerning the said lands and grounds so to be allotted as aforesaid, in full satisfaction as aforesaid.'

Such then being the nature and provisions of this charity, the attention of the incumbent of Little Compton was called to its administration shortly after his institution. Both he and his churchwarden essayed to make some enquiry into its working, but were both repulsed. The administering trustees at that time were J. H. Langston, Esq., of Sarsden, Oxon (who held an estate in the parish, but sold it in 1858), James Harbidge of the Manor Farm, W. S. Hitchman of Kitebrook, and G. G. Busby of Moreton-in-the-Marsh, all proprietors in Little Compton. Mr. Hitchman rented the ten-acre field for the sum of £35 a year, and had been in its occupation for many years. He being also a brewer and coal merchant, supplied the coal to the poor. This was done during the winter months, when the coal was carted to a particular place in the village, and weighed out and sold to the poor at the rate of 6*d.* per cwt. Frequent complaints were made about the quality of the coal, as well as the irregularity and inconvenience of its delivery, the poor having to wait with their barrows and wheel it to inconvenient distances, at an additional cost which was quite as much as the value of the coal. Besides, no accounts were to be seen, and no one except the above-mentioned persons knew anything about the matter. The incumbent and his churchwarden being repulsed at every attempt at enquiry, the only alternative left was to bring the subject under the notice of the Charity Commissioners. The incumbent therefore took it up, and commenced a correspondence as early as the year 1858. In 1859 he was favoured with the loan of the Act of Parliament and the award. He then forwarded the extract from the Act of Parliament, and pointed out to the Charity Commissioners some most startling

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facts in connection with the charity. In the first place, there was not *one* legal trustee; for, according to the Act, *none* but *residents* were eligible after the death of those specifically mentioned. Mr. Harbidge was the only *resident*, but even he was not a legal trustee, inasmuch as for years past no trust deed had been executed vesting the property in the new trustees upon their election. So that, in matter of fact, there was no one qualified to recover the rent of the charity property. Moreover, one of the so-called trustees was himself the tenant, against whom there could lie no process in law, except by an expensive suit in Chancery. The law was also contravened in one of the trustees occupying the trust property for a number of years, at a certain rent, without the trust property being ever subjected to public competition. Again, the trustees limited the sale of the coal only to parishioners, which was defined to be those born in the parish; thus many poor families resident for seven years and upwards were entirely debarred, while artizans and others, not needing, had the privilege. Moreover, by a chance, the incumbent obtained a sight of the book used by the man who weighed out the coal, and discovered that a charge of 23*s.* was made for the very inferior fuel sold to the poor, being a continuation of the same charge made when the coal had to be carted from Banbury before the line was constructed through Moreton; and the incumbent was enabled to tell the Commissioners that he had good coal delivered at his house from Moreton at 20*s.* per ton.

The commissioners could not withstand these facts, and accordingly action was taken. The incumbent, however, was taken ill early in 1860, and did not return till 1863, when he again renewed the correspondence. The result was, that, after preliminaries were gone through, the Charity Commissioners made an order, dated May 31, 1864, discharging from office the above-mentioned trustees, except Mr. Langston, deceased; together with John Baker of Rollright, Oxon, farmer, and

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William Davis of Lemington, also farmer, both of whom had been added without any authority by the other trustees, since the matter was mooted; and appointing in their stead the Incumbent and Churchwardens of Little Compton, together with Henry Lardner, brewer, and John Mace, tailor, both residents; giving them full authority to administer and execute the trusts.

The new trustees soon set to work, and devised an entirely new scheme. Mr. Lardner was appointed treasurer; and the field, let by public auction, realized an average of £40 per annum. The treasurer purchased the coal at first hand at 15*s.* per ton. Tickets were given to the poor to obtain their coal at Moreton; and all the expense of hiring a coal-house, weighing, &c., dispensed with. All residents of five years' occupancy were immediately admitted, and all artizans and others not comprised in the designation of 'poor people' were excluded. Thus all the old people, and parents of four children and upwards, were allotted one ton; three children, 15 cwt.; two and without incumbrance, half a ton: and thus more coal and of better quality has been distributed to the poor gratis for the last five years. And although some expense has accrued in draining and improving the field, the balance in hand on December 31, 1868, was £5 18*s.* 8*d.* The accounts are regularly made out and sent to the Charity Commissioners, and also entered in the Vestry-book, and exhibited annually in open Vestry. The success has fully justified the representations to the Charity Commissioners, and fully compensated the incumbent for all the obloquy and ill-will he encountered in his honest endeavours to rectify a gross abuse. For the first two years there was violent opposition, and a combination entered into to defeat the new scheme, insomuch that the farmers prohibited their carters from drawing their own coal on return from Moreton with corn; but for the last three years employers of labour have drawn for their work-people and others, so that the majority

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of the poor have their coal delivered at their houses free of all expense, thus constituting an immense boon, for they had to pay 10*s*. a ton before for very inferior quality.

Church Land.—The commissioners, by virtue of the authority vested in them, made another allotment for church purposes, though no special allusion is made to this case in the Act of Parliament. It appears that, before the enclosure, the tithe-man had the privilege of depasturing his horse in certain nooks and corners while in the execution of his office. These were called 'Church ways.' Thus the commissioners awarded 'one acre, one rood, and twenty-nine perches to William Jordan and John Rushall, the churchwardens of Little Compton, and their successors churchwardens for the time being, in lieu of all those lands denominated Church ways, and all other privileges thereto belonging in and over the said open and common fields and commonable lands.' This allotment had been held since the award by the churchwardens, who rented it for £5 per annum, and applied the rent for disbursing the current expenses of the church; thus only needing a penny rate once in three years.

At the building of the new church, the parish churchwarden was applied to for coal from this fund for warming the church. This he refused to supply. Whereupon the incumbent stated the case to the Charity Commissioners, at the same time sending them the award. The result was, that the Board made an order, dated August 9, 1864, appointing the incumbent and churchwardens as trustees; and providing 'that the clear amount of the annual rents, profits, and income of the charity, after payment thereout of all necessary and proper outgoings and expenses of management, shall be applied by the trustees primarily in or towards the maintenance and repair of the fabric of the parish church of Little Compton; and subject thereto in or towards defraying the cost of lighting and warming the said church, and the expenses attending the performance of Divine Service therein.'

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The income has since then been applied to the warming and lighting of the church, which is a new edifice, and therefore not at present in need of repairs. At the last audit, there was a balance of £14 8*s*. in the treasurer's hands, which accrued from the sale of timber; the intention being this autumn to apply the amount, in accordance with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, in perfecting the warming apparatus of the church, which has been defective ever since its erection.

Archbishop Juxon's Charity.—By the will of the archbishop it will have been seen that he left £100 'to the poor of the parish of Little Compton.' The income of this amount was applied by his survivors in charity doles to the poor till the death of Lady Fane. After or about that time, it was invested in the funds. The value of money having much increased, the principal stock in 3 per cent. consols is £171 19*s*. 3*d*. In the year 1860 this stock was transferred to the name of the 'Official Trustees of Charitable Funds,' and the incumbent, churchwardens, and overseers appointed trustees. Ever since that period there has been much litigation respecting the application of the income; and, although the Charity Commissioners granted their certificate for an application to the County Court of Chipping-Norton, to apply the income towards the support of the National and Parochial school dedicated to Archbishop Juxon, an under-current of influence has been exercised to blind the eyes of a not very energetic or far-seeing judge. Thus the incumbent's views have been thwarted for a time; but, despite of the judge and his vagaries, he would not allow justice to be defeated. Hence he has so contrived as to lock up the revenue for the last four years, till truth and justice shall prevail.

John Jordan's Charity.—A wealthy farmer connected with the parish, who died at Armscott in Oxfordshire, left a sum of money about thirty years ago for the support of a Sunday school in Little Compton. This amount was transferred to the Charity Commissioners in the year 1859, and is now held

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by them, viz. £166 13*s.* 4*d.* in 3 per cent. consols. The annual income is regularly paid half-yearly, and applied to the salary of the teacher of Archbishop Juxon's school, in which the Sunday school is held.

Archbishop Juxon's School.—The trust deed of this school, as soon as executed, was forwarded to the Charity Commissioners, who enrolled it, and constituted the same a charity of the parish. When reason shall prevail, the incumbent hopes to have the two former charities amalgamated, and property purchased therewith in the parish; the rents and profits to be applied to the permanent support of the parish school, which bears the good archbishop's name. It is not, however, improbable that the new Government scheme of education will shortly of itself rectify this matter. In such a measure it will be found necessary not only to apply most of the charities to education, but also to enlarge the power of the Charity Commissioners, so that for the future no such anomaly should exist as that a perverse judge should be enabled to over-ride the authority and decision of the Charity Commission, or that the Commission should not have power to demand the books and accounts of former administrators, to prevent the new trustees and a whole parish from being left in utter darkness respecting the administration of a charity trust for a number of years.

RENTS AND PROFITS OF THE BENEFICE OF LITTLE COMPTON.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Annual payment by Mr. John Baker, lessee of Oakham, the rectorial farm	67	0	0
Annual payment from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners	26	13	4
Annual voluntary payment from the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church	15	0	0
Rent of eleven acres of glebe at Barton-on-Heath, Warwickshire	22	0	0
Rent of nine acres of glebe at Hook-Norton, Oxon	24	0	0
Annual payment by Dean and Chapter of Christ Church from Dr. South's charity	10	0	0
Rent of two cottages and grounds on parsonage glebe	8	0	0
	£172	13	4

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By a recent Act of Parliament, Little Compton, formerly a perpetual curacy, is now constituted a vicarage. The Dean and Chapter of Christ Church purpose shortly to augment the benefice. They will begin by giving a sum of £500, to which, through the kindness of the Bishop of the diocese, a further sum of £250 will be added from the Diocesan Society, which, when doubled by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, will create a capital stock of £1500, and at their rate of interest, will augment the living £50 a year.

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PART III.

APPENDIX.

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PART III.

APPENDIX I.

A SERMON ON THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES I.

The Subject's Sorrow, or Lamentations upon the Death of Britain's Josiah, King Charles, most unjustly and cruelly put to Death, by his own People, before his royal palace Whitehall, January the 30, 1648. Expressed in a Sermon upon Lamen. iv. 20, wherein the Divine and Royal Prerogatives, Personal Virtues, and Theological Graces of his late Majesty are briefly delivered. And that his Majesty was taken away in God's Mercy unto himself, and for the certain Punishment of the Kingdoms, from the parallel is clearly proved. By Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London. 2 Chron. xxxv. 24: 'And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.' Isaiah lvii. 1: 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart: and merciful men are taken away, none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.' Euseb. Pamph. Vit. Const. M. l. 4. c. 57: 'Fere sanè hunc honorem adeptus est ut Dei voluntate, quod ea morte sepultum est, tamen apud homines regnaret.' March 12, 1648. London, printed in the year 1649, for R. Royston.

The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.—LAM. iv. 20.

PUBLIC calamities charge every man with a rate of sorrow proportionable unto the tenure of his understanding, put him upon a serious enquiry of the causes and consequences of them, and exact from him a diligent provision of means to stop or divert them. Calamity, like the flood, is now lifted up above our earth, and hath almost covered the highest hills of our temporal felicity. Could our sorrows swell as high as

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that, the sense of our present and impending miseries would drown us. If we shall search into the causes of them, we shall find these in ourselves (our sins)—their sad consequences are by so much the superabounding matter of our just fear, by how much they go beyond our knowledge—nay, even conjecture, and all our power to prevent them. Such is the inundation of miseries now prevailing over the three kingdoms. Would you see the head of these drowning cataracts?—this text will make the discovery unto you: 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.'

The words are the groundwork and foundation on which the prophet Jeremiah raised the whole sorrowful structure of his Lamentations, composed on the mournful obsequies of the best of the kings of Judah, Josiah (hurried away by a violent and, unto all but himself, untimely death), made a mournful ordinance for Israel, and enjoined as the signal expression of their grief, and deep sense of the future numerous and unavoidable calamities which would by his death befall them. Judah's sins having provoked God into so speedy execution of those judgments formerly denounced against them, that they might no longer plead the privileges of their prince's piety to reprieve their punishments, God removes this remora unto His justice (their good king) from them. That He might bring upon them the fierceness of His great wrath, He plucks down their hedge and fence, their devout prince, from them, that He might rush in upon them by unexpected judgments to destroy them. There lies not among all the files of sacred records an evidence of so exemplary and princely piety as King Josiah. 'Like unto him there was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses, neither after him arose there any like him.' Yet the sins of his people drew upon him a violent death, who was acknow-

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ledged worthy of a longer life. The people's sins put the religious and deserving prince into the toils of his persecutors; they hunt after his precious life, and he falls into their pits.

He who stood in the gap to hinder the way of the destroyer, that bulwark that stood betwixt them and the furious batteries of God's wrath, was now torn down. Just cause then had the prophet to fear the sharp assaults of God's judgments ready to storm the kingdom of Judah, and to break out into this dolorous lamentation, as pointing at the spring and source of their sorrows and calamities, 'The breath of our nostrils,' &c.

How is the happiness of a kingdom twisted with the welfare of a religious king! how close doth the ruin of a people follow the loss of a pious prince! A good king is a rampart and security unto his kingdom; that being slighted, the destruction thereof is an easy undertaking. Yet who so apt to sap and undermine these their own fortifications, as the people themselves?

'— felices nimium bona si sua norint.'

Sufficiently happy, if they knew the things which belonged unto their welfare. Sufficiently happy, if they were not so industrious to make themselves unhappy. Josiah was the best of princes, yet, by the sins of his people, pushed into the fatal pits of his adversaries; and his fall proves the utter destruction and downfall of the people themselves. This consideration makes them mourn for their deceased king—weep elegies and lament thus, 'The breath of our nostrils,' &c.

A spreading thick cloud, whence lasting showers of tears continually descend, 'that the breath,' &c.

The words, not to torture them, offer unto us two things.

First, God's letters patent of the royal prerogatives and beneficial privileges granted unto King Josiah, and that in these three eminent and significant expressions. 1. He was the breath of their nostrils; 2. The anointed of the Lord;

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3. Of whom they said, Under the shadow of his wings they should live among the heathen.

Second, There is the nulling of these letters patent of Josiah —'he was taken in their pits.' God by a violent death reversed them.

The prophet and people of Judah well knew the sacred and royal prerogatives of their deceased king, yet acknowledge these glorious privileges taken away by his death for their punishment.

'The breath of our nostrils'—an high and emphatic expression, borrowed from the chief and choicest work of creation—'*Man*, whom when God formed out of the dust of the earth, He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul;' thus contriving within this trunk of dust and clay the inimitable hability of His own deity: and from him is this significant and effective operation, in an inferior and remiss degree, attributed unto His vice-regent Josiah—that as in the natural body, life, and all the animal faculties and principles of action: owe their original unto the effusion of God's breath, the soul—so a man. A subject in a politic respect hath the life of his civil constitution from the king, and as the rational faculties planted in the understanding, memory, and will, are from the soul, so the religious actions of men refer their growth unto the prince, in which respect is it that the king is termed λειτουργός, the minister of God; an august denomination, implying him the chief officer for the exercise of sacred jurisdiction, great in regard both of the author thereof, God, and the end thereof, man's good. This royal jurisdiction consisting in the legislative and executive power of kings to make and execute laws for regulating the actions of men, as well in the outward and religious worship of God, as in civil conversation; that as the soul is the fountain of corporal motion and rational action, so the laws, divine and human (of which the king is the proper custos), are the beginning and rule of all civil and religious

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actions. And as to make laws is the life of authority, so the execution of them is the life of the law. Herein a pious prince being eminently the representer of his God, and may be said [to be] the breath of his subjects (as unto their civil and religious life), in making and executing such laws as may dispose them in order unto God and salvation. But this divinely alluding and cryptic similitude, appropriate unto a pious prince (to be the breath of our nostrils), hath not a more lively feature of divine resemblance than the vigorous exemplarity of personal piety in the prince himself; his example giving life, reputation, and lustre unto religion. In which sense is it that a king is termed an angel of God, the light or candle of his people. From all these considerations, good King Josiah was justly acknowledged 'the breath of their nostrils.' He restored the Law, even lost, punished and extirpated idolatry, settled the Church, restored religion, encouraged the priests, judiciously ordered the whole service of God's house, and for his personal sanctimony (besides these acts of royal prudence and zeal) the Holy Ghost affords him this great and gracious testimony, 'that his heart was tender, and that he did humble himself before God.' His chief care and solicitude was to decline those things that would offend God, and preserve his conscience a clear and unspotted glass wherein the glorious image of divine holiness did shew itself transparent in the whole conduct of his actions. Yet this great and royal pattern of piety, the life of their religion and laws, was 'taken in their pits;' for the sins of his subjects he fell into the fatal snares of his adversaries. Yea, notwithstanding, we have yet a more visible cognizance and livery of God's own divine and supreme authority, being 'the anointed of the Lord,' God's Christ, sacred by holy unction unto God. Unto no material thing hath God fastened such significations of His graces unto mankind as unto *oil*, the whole influence of God's jurisdiction over man being (as the most lasting pieces are drawn in oil) represented unto us by a

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mysterious application thereof, through unction therewith of those unto whom God hath by a deputation conferred the great and chief places of trust for the exercise of His supreme power over mankind, as the kingly, priestly, and prophetic offices; they whom God hath delegated unto these subservient offices of supreme authority, and constituted His own under-officers, having the warrant for the execution of their places signed by the outward act of sacred unction.

'The title anointed,' says Eusebius, 'is of great reverence and glorious, delivering types and symbols of heavenly things and secret images and representations full of mystery.' But whereas priests and prophets in Scripture are barely called *uncti*—anointed,—for kings the style always runs thus, *uncti Domini*, the Lord's anointed, God having given to kings, by a more immediate consignation, greater relations and proportions of His power, than unto either the priest or the prophet. 'Kings were by divine instinct of God unto His prophets anointed with oil and made Christs or anointed, that they should resemble Christ, because they by themselves resemble the image and figure of regal and principal power, which is seen in the only and true Christ.' (Eusebius.) So St. Augustine, speaking of Saul's unction, which made David fear even to touch him, saith, 'oleum illud &c. mystice accipiendum et magnum sacramentum intelligendum est'—that oil with which Saul was anointed, and from that chrism or unction was termed anointed, is to be understood mystically, and is a great sacrament (so the ancients usually termed the representation of things holy). When Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome, anointed Constantine—'consignationem Spiritus Sancti adhibuit sancti chrismatis unctione dicens, Signet te Deus sigillo fidei, in nomine,' &c., saith the author—he gave a consignation of the Holy Ghost, by the unction of the holy oil, saying, 'Almighty God imprint in thee the seal and character of His faith, in the name of the Father,' &c.

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Now the plenitude of the regal power derived from unction is visible in the properties of similitude.

1. Unction conferred upon them *vim* supereminentem dominii —the power of absolute and supreme authority—oil denoting sovereignty, in that, being mixed with any liquor, it maintains a superiority in the supernatation, appearing still uppermost; the exercise of which supreme authority consisted in the making and abrogating of laws civil and ecclesiastical (which in matters indifferent and not against the clear evidence of God's word, should bind the conscience). David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Josiah, ordered the affairs of the Jewish Church; and Socrates tells us that after the emperors became Christians, matters of the Church wholly depended on them, and that it was by their summons and pleasures that the greatest councils were called; and therefore Constantine the Great would usually say unto the bishops, 'Vos intra, ego extra ecclesiam episcopus a Deo sum constitutus'—'ye are bishops within the Church, and without the Church I am a bishop appointed by God.' He was *communis episcopus*, the common and œcumencial bishop in his empire.

2. It gave them power to denounce war, the *merum imperium* and absolute power of the sword being his from God. 'Ordo ille naturalis mortalium paci accommodatus hoc poscit ut suscipiendi belli authoritas atque concilium penes principem sit'—even natural order accommodate unto the peace of mankind, requiring this, that the power of making war remain wholly in the prince. Which when the people usurped, we see they were punished (Numbers xiv. 44).

3. To conclude peace and make confederations and leagues, as King David and King Solomon did. The olive, from which oil comes, is the emblem of peace, and unction notably insinuates those ready inclinations and endeavours in kings to procure the peace of their subjects; and in order unto peace to make cessations and truces, which, when broken even by David's general, he was sentenced as for murder.

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4. The free election of their servants and disposition of all offices in Church and State.

5. To pardon unto offenders their lives, or to punish them with death, as in Joab's and Shimei's case.

6. To receive appeals from all other judicatures, that absolute submission unto the supreme magistrate being taught Christians (as Polycarpus, the holy martyr and bishop, told the proconsul) which brings no hurt unto the salvation of our souls and religion.

And from this divine signature of supreme power in kings by unction flows their indemnity and inviolability in word and deed; they are not to be smitten even with the tongue, much less the hand. 'Against Thee only have I sinned,' says David, which St. Ambrose expounds by his absolute exemption from human judicature. 'There is no rising up against a king,' says Solomon. 'Who may say unto him, What doest thou?' David acknowledged the image of God by holy unction in the worst of kings, Saul, insomuch, though he were his irreconcilable adversary, he would not even stretch forth his hand against him—he had not the *new* way to expound Scripture unto his own distorting passions. Though that course was pressed upon him with the advantage of a crown, he checks the wrested and carnal application; 'The Lord forbid that I should do this thing.' Yea, when the son of a stranger, an Amalekite (who might perhaps plead ignorance of the sacred relations by unction), [did so,] although Saul had already received his death-wound, beside that it might be counted a kind of rescue to save him from being taken prisoner, and that he might seem also to have merited, by preserving the *regalia*, the crown and royal habiliments, from the enemy, and presenting them unto the lawful successor, David; yet he is so moved with the sacred regards conveyed unto King Saul by unction, that he punished him with death for shortening Saul's life, as for the breach of a known and natural right. 'How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth

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thine hand against the *Lord's anointed?*' David honoured Saul for his holy unction living, and revenged him being dead. A king in his kingdom is '*solo deo minor,*' inferior unto God only, says Tertullian, and then surely above his people. '*Deo subditus,*' subject to God only, says St. Ambrose and Valentinian. '*Princeps legibus solutus est,*' that the king is free from the power of the law, is a maxim as old as Christianity—that is, from the penalties of it. Laws have only a directive, no coercive power over him. Though not as a moral man, yet in his politic consideration he is above the law. '*Divino sunt judicio reservandi reges*'—kings stand or fall unto their own master, God. '*Satis est ad pœnam quod Deum habeant ultorem*'—it is sufficient that God will punish their crimes. He is the only judge—not the people—unto Whom our appeal lies against the injuries of their proceedings. In such cases our proper address is unto God's tribunal. If arbitrary government, oppression, murder, sacrilege, demoniac possession, witchcraft (of all which sins King Saul was notoriously guilty), could give sufficient warrant unto his punishment by his subjects,—and were the people competent judges,—the people's hate of Saul, and David's merit from them and sufferings from Saul, might probably lead him to propound the people an high court of justice; but informed by a better spirit than that which actuates these times, he puts up his charge against Saul (even when his life was in his power) unto God (unto whom the judgment of kings belongs) in these words:—'The Lord judge between thee and me, and the Lord avenge me of thee, but mine hand shall not be upon thee.' Yea, afterwards, upon Saul's continuance of his mortal hatred and bloody persecution of David and his followers, and that Abishai preached unto David the modern doctrine, the divine and infallible equity of outward successes,—that God had delivered King Saul into his hands,—and offered himself a ready executioner of the fact; David countermands his active and

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interested malice (cloaked with the usual pretensions of religion and liberty), 'Destroy him not, for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed and be guiltless?' But he refers for remedy unto the proper court of justice against kings—'The Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into battle and perish; the Lord forbid that I should stretch forth mine hand against the Lord's anointed.' 'Saul had not innocency, and yet he had sanctity, not of life, but of the unction, which even in wicked men is holy,' saith St. Augustine. The first and best Christians continued this practice towards their most refractory and imperious emperors. When Valentinian the younger dispossessed the orthodox of their churches in Milan, and gave them unto the Arians, St. Ambrose, the bishop, only offered up his supplications unto God to alter the emperor's purposes. '*Adversus arma, lacrymæ mea arma sunt*'—against arms, tears are my defensive weapons. '*Aliter nec debeo, nec possum repugnare*'—no other way ought I or can I resist, saith he. The carriage of the citizens of Milan was the same. Exhibiting their petition unto the emperor, they all cry out, '*Rogamus, non pugnamus*'—we humbly entreat you, O emperor, we fight not against you.

The testimony of *Plinius Secundus*, given unto Trajan, that the primitive Christians practised nothing against the received laws, and were ready rather to suffer than oppose, procured them not only a respite from their bloody persecution, but also the free exercise of their religion.

Tears and prayers unto God, and humble supplications unto princes, the ancient Christians held the only powerful means to divert their miscarriages; they never denied them any duty of subjection. St. Augustine witnesseth that this was the behaviour of the Christian soldiers, even under Julian the apostate and idolator. When Maximus entered Italy with a great army, under pretence of restoring the orthodox ejected by Valentinian, who patronized the Arians, he was held by the

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orthodox but for a tyrant, and was so far from receiving assistance from them, that they overthrew him and established Valentinian.

And as unction is the divine seal of supreme power, indemnity, and inviolability unto kings, so doth it likewise suggest unto them the duty of the regal administration towards their subjects. That as oil is of a spreading and diffusive quality, so in the prince is required impartiality and justice equally distributive unto all. As oil likewise hath in it a lenitive and healing virtue, so should the supreme magistrate be an healer and binder up of the wounds and sores of his subjects.

Oil hath in it also an especial virtue to comfort and strengthen the parts unto which it is applied; so is a king the minister of good unto his subjects for good. He is to cherish virtue, to esteem honest and commendable action; in which sense are kings styled by our Saviour εὐεργέται, benefactors. (Luke xxii. 25.) Add hereunto, that oil is of a nourishing and cheering quality, and, taken as sustenance, is of easy and fine distribution, causing a good and wholesome nutriment; therefore it is reckoned among the principal blessings of a land. So is the grace and countenance of a king of a nourishing and improving operation. 'The king's favour is like the dew upon the grass' (Prov. xix. 12); in which respect God promiseth unto the Christian Church that kings should be nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers. (Isa. xlix. 23.)

Thus we see the many sacred impressions of divine jurisdiction imposed by God Himself on kings through holy unction, whereby His dominion over mankind is delegated unto kings, the Lord's anointed; God by this symbol and outward sign agreeable and connatural unto man, consigning the ordinary exercise of His government over mankind unto them, so that the holy oil thus employed is no longer base and common oil, but χάρισμα, the gift of grace, which (however

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vilified by enthusiastics and solifidians) betokens the grace of Christ unto kings, and prescribes necessary submission and duty unto their subjects. We are not (whatever phantastic men may presume) so spiritual in this life but that we stand in need of outward representations to carry on our faith and hope unto things spiritual. The greatest favours unto lapsed mankind are the Sacraments, where the visible and corporal elements are the means to convey by faith spiritual graces and the whole benefits of Christ's sufferings unto us. The sublimated and metaphysical professors of our times endeavour too irreverent a close with Almighty God. They will have no king but Christ, no unction but that of the Spirit; which is not that sober and peaceable spirit that leadeth unto all truth, but the spirit of giddiness, Elihu's spirit, the spirit of their belly which leadeth into all error, carnal interests constraining them to shake off God's government in princes—to effect which, the most compendious way is to throw off all ceremony, which is unto religion as the scabbard unto the sword, to preserve it from the rust of contempt (as St. Augustine speaks). The sacred regards of unction, of king, of priest, of prophet, of churches, of tithes, stand betwixt them and their sacrilegious ends; they must be removed; no rails or bounds must be set unto them; they will be up *into the mount*, and run the hazard, if not of temporal flames, yet certainly (without hearty repentance) of the everlasting burnings. These men, who will be solely swayed by the guidance of their own spirit (which being as various as the several tempers of the continents it inhabits), will make religion full of uncertainties, merely imaginary, and wholly depending upon the doubtful insufficiencies of man's weak conceptions; so that hereby the essential truths of religion must needs daily decay, the substance thereof be reduced into the smoke of every man's unbounded fancy, and the Christian faith will die by degrees. But unction puts God's dominion into the king's hands; that must not be resisted, for it is the resisting of *God Himself*. It is the very language of the Holy Ghost

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unto the ten revolted tribes, that 'they resisted the kingdom in the hands of the sons of David;' and Josephus assigns this as the cause of the subversion of them (no memory of them being left). 'The sedition,' saith he, 'that they moved against Rehoboam, establishing his servant for their king, was the original of their mischiefs.' Ammon was a most wicked and idolatrous prince, yet God punished the treason of his servants against him, because he was God's anointed. Many sacred regards are by unction conveyed from God unto princes. Great cause then had the prophet and people of Judah to lament the death of their good King Josiah, 'the anointed of the Lord, that he was fallen into their pits.'

3. 'Of whom we said, Under the shadow of his wings we shall live among the heathen.' King Josiah, his regal prerogatives and personal virtues, were a protection unto his people; he was the fountain of their liberty and safety. The happiness of subjects depends upon the well-being of their kings; and the preservation of the regal dignity is a sure pledge of God's goodness and the continuance of His favour unto a people. For this cause is it that when the apostle had exhorted that prayers should be made for all men (1 Tim. ii. 1), as though this precept were too universal, he reduceth it (ver. 2) unto kings, and adds the reason, 'that ye may lead a quiet and peaceable life.' And for the same cause did the prophet command the Israelites to pray for the king of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar. This consideration also made David's subjects apprize his life at so high a rate; 'Is not now thy life worth ten thousand of ours?' The king is the head of the people; there is a sacred and near relation betwixt them. A disease or pain in the head causeth a disease in the whole body, an indisposition throughout all the members; so the calamity and sufferings of the king affecteth every conscientious man in his kingdom. This honest zeal and pious sympathy between the head and the members, the king and the people, made our prophet and the men of Judah so passionately bewail

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the loss of their good King Josiah. They promised unto themselves a lasting security in this life. 'Of whom we said, Under the shadow of his wings we shall live among the heathen.' God's grant of regal prerogatives unto Josiah, afforded not only protection (as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings—our Saviour's allusion) to defend them from the birds of prey, but a strength also and vigorous warmth to dwell with safety among the heathen, the known enemies of their nation and profession. When then this royal oak was cut down, and they deprived of the thriving benefits of its shelter, their sorrows must needs plentifully spring up from the sense of so great and irreparable a loss, and the fears of those storms which now threatened to overturn their felicity. But the depth of this sorrow was not to be fathomed when they found the bottomless abyss of their own sins the head thereof, that notwithstanding the great privileges of Josiah's regal dignity and piety, that the fierceness of God's greater wrath was so kindled against Judah, that the Lord said, 'I will remove Judah out of My sight, as I have removed Israel.' And therefore, that His fury without obstruction or let might be poured out upon them, God suffers the breath of their nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, of whom they said, Under the shadow of his wings they should live among the heathen, —good King Josiah, the life of their religion [and] law, he who was empowered by God with the supreme authority, had a divine grant of human indemnity and inviolability, their righteous justicer, their physician, their nursing father, their protector, and the great conservator of their liberty and safety, —to fall into their pits, to die by the hand of his adversaries; being the second consideration in the text.

II. 'The breath of our nostrils, &c. was taken in their pits.' Here is the nulling of God's letters patent and the grant of regal prerogatives and beneficial privileges made unto King Josiah, by a violent death. God, for the punishment of the people of Judah's sins, takes away their pious prince by

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the power of his enemies. The force of the relation betwixt the head and the members, the king and the people, is the true reason why God punisheth the best of kings with temporal judgments for the offences of his subjects (as here in Josiah). 'The anger of the Lord was moved against Israel, and he moved David to number the people.' (2 Sam. xxiv. 1.) The divine justice vindicated that sin of the king upon the people, for whose transgressions he was suffered to sin. Divinely holy Gregory says, 'Secundum meritum plebium disponuntur corda Rectorum'—according unto the deserts of the people the hearts of the governors are disposed; the just judge punisheth the fault of the offender upon them who had caused him to offend. What an impious absurdity is it to fly in the face of our prince for those errors which receive their birth and strength from our own native corruptions! We should rather say (as Job tells his supercilious reprovers), 'Why persecute we him, since the ground of the matter is found in me?' When the prince is vicious, the accusation properly lies against the subjects, whose sins make him so; for as the prosperity of the king is the sure earnest of God's favour unto a people (as Saba shews the Israelites from the glory of King Solomon's court), so is the oppression and misery even of the worst of kings an infallible mark of God's anger resting upon a people, as in King Saul. Josiah's single default (fighting with Pharaoh Necho without God's allowance) brings the punishment of a violent death upon him. For that *only* registered error into which the people's sins had pushed him, *their sins* were now ripe for punishment by his one offence: for whose punishment he was suffered even then to offend, that so their judgments might commence from his death, whose guilt permitted not unto him a longer life. He fell into their pits (a speech taken from hunters, who waylay those beasts they chase, setting snares and toils for them in those paths and places they run unto for refuge), that they might know that since God had divested Josiah their head of all regal prerogatives,

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and let him fall by the practices and power of his cruel foes, *they* could no longer urge a respite from the execution of those judgments given against their former transgressions, but acknowledge and bewail this sad and evil occurrence (the violent death of their good king), the fatal consequence of their own sins, from which there was now a recession of God (in His government by Josiah) from them, and an abandoning them up into the hands of strangers and usurpers, from whom they could not but expect all the wearisome traverses of tyranny, the heavy weight of a continual oppression, and all those not-to-be-reckoned unhappy inconveniences which attend upon a government begun by conquest, supported by force, and maintained and actuated by the law of the sword. So that even this violent death appears an absolute assurance of God's mercy and goodness unto King Josiah, to take him out of this life, that he might not behold those woful and thronging miseries which were ready to rush in upon and bear down the present (for his sake only) happy condition of his subjects, which would have procured unto him more anxiety than the consideration of undergoing ten thousand violent deaths. A good prince having so strong a sympathy with his subjects' sufferings, that he feels every pricking pang and painful touch of their troubles; in which respect this violent death was an incomparable favour unto him, and (which at first sight procures our wonder) proves his greatest temporal blessing, and the gracious reward of his eminent piety. And so much the Holy Ghost tells us, 'Because thine heart was tender, and thou didst humble thyself before God, when thou heardest His words against this place and against the inhabitants thereof, and humbledst thyself before Me, and didst rend thy clothes and weep before Me, I have even heard thee also, saith the Lord. Behold I will gather thee to thy fathers, and thou shalt be gathered unto thy fathers in peace, neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I shall bring upon this place and upon the inhabitants of the same.' So that, as the prophet Isaiah speaks, we 'may lay it to heart, that the

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righteous is taken away from the evil to come.' Hezekiah's piety likewise found this divine favour a respite from the sight of those judgments his people's sins had contracted, that there 'should be peace and truth in his days,' and he thankfully and humbly acknowledged the greatness of that mercy.

These sad considerations quickly pull up all the sluices of sorrow, and let in floods of tears to overwhelm them. They lament and mourn with a great and grievous mourning. '*All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.*' A mourning wherein the whole kingdom wore the blacks of sorrow; a mourning renowned for the universal and sad solemnity thereof; a mourning made the highest prescription of mourning, the utmost bounds and confines of sorrow; 'as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo,' where every family of the whole kingdom distinguished themselves by the variety and solitariness of their sorrow, 'every family mourning apart;' the princes of the blood apart, the people by their several families apart, and all their wives apart; every part of every family having a several share in this general sorrow, and a particular part in this common sadness and lamentation for Josiah. The priest and prophet Jeremiah—he is the chief mourner—composeth Josiah's funeral elegy (this Book of the Lamentations), gives them unto the skilful choir to chant forth — he begins the first sad note, the singing men and singing women consort with him in the doleful plaints, and all Judah and Jerusalem make up the sad chorus in this general sorrow.

Just cause had every man in Judah and Jerusalem to mourn for Josiah's death, since every man's sin had made way by a several wound to take away Josiah's life, and so must needs bear a share in the crying guilt of his blood, which nothing but a flood of penitent tears could wash away. This makes every man's particular sorrow, as several lines, meet in the centre of the text, the common cause of their teeming grief; 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of

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the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.'

From these sacred truths naturally flow these divinely-informing conclusions:—

That a good prince is the life of religion, law, and civil conversation.

That kings by holy unction, as by God's visible deed and conveyance, are invested with the supreme authority, inviolability, and indemnity; and therefore to think reverently of them, consecrated with so many mysterious regards and relations, the characters of God's supreme jurisdiction over man.

That unction suggests unto kings that duty they stand obliged in unto their subjects, in the impartial distribution of justice to heal them, to comfort them, to nourish them.

That a good king is designed by God a protector of his subjects, and the conservator of their liberty, safety, and peace.

That the best king may be punished with the greatest temporal punishment for the sins of his subjects.

That the errors of kings take their rise from their subjects' sins.

That God first taketh away a good king before He will bring judgment upon his subjects.

That God's violent taking away a good king from a people is an evidence of His heavy displeasure, and a certain prognostic of the many miseries He will bring upon them.

That a violent death proves a temporal blessing unto a king, when it takes from him the sight and sense of his subjects' sufferings.

That a violent death may justly be reputed a departing in peace, compared with a continuance of the sense of troubles and durable calamity.

That all men are strictly and deeply engaged unto the most

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solemn sorrow for the calamity of their king, as caused by their sins, and ushering in their approaching miseries.

Let us see whether our kingdoms may not truly calculate their griefs by the ephemerides of Judah's sorrow. We have had a British Josiah, whose graces and prerogatives fully answered the proportion and size of their pattern. Could Judah's sins snatch away their pious King Josiah from them, and do not we conceive that our sins have hurried our religious King Charles from us? Was King Josiah's death the inlet of Judah's miseries, and do not we suppose that King Charles his life may be the period of our temporal happiness, and his death the first act of that *tragical woe* which is to be represented upon the theatre of this kingdom, likely to continue longer than the now living spectators? We have had as great an ebb of felicity in the loss of our King Charles as Judah had in her Josiah's—should not the tide of our sorrows run as high as theirs? Surely the parallel considerations of the virtues and prerogatives of both these pious kings, of the causes of their calamities, and the sad consequences attending them, will command an equality of ours with Judah's sorrow. We will a little invert the method; begin with King Charles his divine and regal prerogatives, next shew his personal virtues and graces, then his sufferings, point at their causes, and conclude with our own constrained sorrows.

England, in her best and loudest language, the law, hath largely declared the sacred sovereignty of her kings, spoke them God's vicars, assigned unto them the fulness of regal power, laid forth their jurisdiction by as large bounds as the Scripture doth King Josiah's, or any other king's of Israel or Judah. Are not these legal, registered, and public acknowledgments—'that every man is under the king, and he under God only—that he is not inferior unto his subjects, even collectively considered—that he is a mixed person, and capable of spiritual jurisdiction through holy unction—that he is

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the fountain of honour, hath the sole power to pardon and punish offenders, to levy war, to make peace, to constitute officers—that he can do no wrong?' Do not these expressions amount unto 'the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord,' &c.? And these are the regal peculiars of the kings of England, inseparably annexed unto their crown and dignity, which he that runneth may read, being written in those large and known characters of the law. Certainly, these significant delineations of the sacred and regal powers of the kings of England were copied out of the Holy Scriptures, which those that now wrest them (and make that fair face of the Holy Ghost a visard alterable unto the disguise of their personated piety and hypocritical practice) seeing, will not see. Doubtless the crown of England was held from the Lord Paramount of Dominion, God, by as free, noble, and regal a tenure as any under heaven. And from Him, by a lineal and unquestionable right of succession, had King Charles the investiture thereof, and grant of all these royal acknowledged prerogatives, until (without any divine or human warrant) he was violently disseized of them and 'taken in their pits.' These were his sacred and royal prerogatives.

Let us now look into that spacious field of his personal virtues — a fragrant tract, having 'the sweet smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed.' And since time will not permit the perusal of every pleasant walk of grace and the delightful ambits of his virtues, let us, as Moses from Mount Nebo, take a general and distant survey of this blessed circuit flowing with milk and honey—King Charles, his celestial gifts and graces.

'A Jove principium. —'

His religious piety renders itself glorious in his great love, fear, and honour of God; his zeal and devout frequency in prayer, receiving the Sacraments, and reading the Holy Scriptures; his reverence in God's house, his attention to God's word preached, the esteem he had of God's messengers,

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his hatred of heresy, and the zealous care he had (as it was consistent with charity) to propagate the true worship of God, the Protestant religion. This in the purity thereof he established by his laws, enlarged with his regal authority, cleansed from that rust it had contracted through the atheism and ignorance of the times by the contemptibleness of the outward worship, adorned with decency and order in the public service, and with cost upon the places dedicated unto that service; but chiefly he beautified it with the glorious example of his holy life and the encouragement of the officers thereof, whom he rewarded with the rewards of honour and maintenance. His royal palace (as Theodosius Junior's) was a constant receipt for learned and pious prelates, whom he entertained and cherished as the servants of the great God and dispensers of the mysteries and means of grace,—which, as it was an especial and infallible mark of the sincerity of his humble piety, so through the supercilious religion of the times did that (which should have most endeared him unto Christians) draw neglect and contempt upon him from them (and those great ones too) who love nothing of Christianity but the naked name. He knew that Church maintenance was the best nurse of religion, and therefore no weight of difficulties could so press upon him to alien God's portion, the patrimony of the Church; to preserve which from the sacrilegious invasion of the great movers of these troubles (who thought the best way to shake off government was to destroy religion, and the most effectual and quick course to destroy religion to take away Church maintenance), he tendered the sale of so much Crown land as would amount unto the value of the Church land. That great and strict care he took to keep the throne and kingdom of God in his soul (his conscience) inviolable, shews that although he made his abode among men, yet his conversation was in heaven. The continual acknowledged remorse he was seized with for consenting (against the dictate of his conscience) unto the Earl of Strafford's death, speaks him another

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David, and a man after God's own heart. Such were the tender impressions that act ever left in him; as David when he cut off the skirt of Saul's garment, his heart smote him. And, indeed, his Majesty found that fate which the Rabbins assign unto David's fact, that he found no heat in his clothes afterwards. So his Majesty found not that comforting warmth in the advice of others which he did in the solid counsels of that ever to be honoured Earl. How many invincible arguments have we of his Majesty's singular sanctimony! How in that his great trial of afflictions did the abundance of his joy, the riches of his graces, and the absolute and complete contentation of piety, shine forth in all his speeches and actions? As that first great patron of Christianity, Constantine the Great, would have his effigies kneeling engraven on his coin, with his hands spread, and his eyes advanced towards heaven, the posture of an humble suppliant at the throne of grace,—so did our late most religious King desire that unto his golden manual might be prefixed his representation, kneeling, contemning a temporal, holding our blessed Saviour's crown of thorns, and aspiring unto an eternal crown of happiness; which clears unto us that his large soul was not possessed with narrow and temporal considerations, but with the regards of lasting and eternal interests; so that of all the Christian kings of this isle, he may be positively said [to be] the most Christian.

From his piety let me pass over unto his prudence, which, although it be fairly measured out unto us in his great piety (the practice whereof is the supreme prudence and best evidence of a good understanding), yet, morally considered, as it is an habit acting in human affairs by the ordered rules of reason, we shall find his Majesty nobly accomplished with this virtue, furnished with a strong memory of things past, with a sound judgment in their reference and relation unto things present, with a clear and quick apprehension to discern the operations and tendencies of occurrences, and with a singular

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providence and wise disposition of things fit to attain unto his ends, which were ever honourable and worthy of so great a prince, who ever judged a Christian simplicity the best policy. With the gravest nation of Europe, the Spaniard, he gained in his younger years the reputation of a sober, grave, wise prince; which will fully appear if we look upon him in his particular relations. His majesty was a most kind husband, religiously observant of the holy ties of wedlock; a tender and indulgent father unto his children, unto whom he paid the due of paternal care in their religious and royal education; his kingly bounty unto his servants shew him a liberal and good master; and his good affection unto his people (whose welfare he ever prized above his own, and unto the last minute was more afflicted from the sense of theirs than his own sufferings) shew him a most gracious sovereign. And however he was by those, who long since took away his civil life and destroyed his reputation with his subjects (to set up themselves and drive on their own ends), represented a prince of mean and contemptible endowments, and unfit for government; the whole world now sees their gross falsehood, and their confessions give the lie unto their loud and lewd calumnies. For since his solitary and close confinement, when he could have no counsel but what he fetched from Heaven, all rational and unprejudiced men see his sober, wise, satisfactory, and resolute answers unto all their arrogant, dull, distractive, dissolute propositions; so that it is a positive and measured judgment (made from the whole carriage of his transactions with this Parliament), that he was incomparably the wisest prince in Christendom, and better understood the constitution and affairs of his kingdoms than any man now living. Neither may we here (as the constant attendant and sworn servant unto his princely prudence) but with wonder reflect upon his kingly eloquence, his flowing and (as Tacitus speaks of Augustus) king-becoming style, sweet, pure, accurate, perspicuous, grave, full of copious facility and elegant felicity,

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without strained affectation or servile and forced imitation. So that had he not some natural difficulties in pronunciation, he would have been approved the best orator and perfect master of language (as he was of reason) that ever Britain yet bred. But who ever with more judgment bethought those things that were to be spoken, or who ever fitted his consult thoughts with a more handsome and clean apparel of speech and maturity of weighed words than he? This age shews not a man able to take up his princely pen; his style may well be the object of men's wishes, never of their imitation.

This his princely prudence receives likewise further illustration from his justice in the free and equal administration thereof unto all. Some surreptions and corruptions in particular offices of State, as they were not to be defended, so (whilst men are men) they will hardly be avoided. But the sweet influence of his Majesty's justice upon all appears in the peace of his kingdoms, the serenity of his people, the tranquillity of public affairs, the increase of trade, the growing riches of his subjects, and the universal happiness of his government—these three kingdoms being thrice happy until the helm of government was wrested out of his sacred hands. And now we see, since those State empirics have practised upon the body politic, with what strong convulsions and mortal maladies it is affected. The best experienced physician under heaven, and he only who could have cured England from the diseases of her distemper, without opening her veins, is taken from her. She lies now in the hands of young and desperate practitioners, it is to be feared, unless God prevent their violent administrations and corrosive notions with antidotes of mercy. Instead of mending her, they will end her health, life, and liberty.

Look upon his true Christian fortitude, in the magnanimity of his carrying on with constancy of resolution his weightiest affairs even in those greatest difficulties, in his confidence with God's assistance to overcome them, in his exceeding patience,

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in a tolerance (free from despondency) in the greatest molestations and pressures to compose them, and in his matchless and kingly perseverance, even in the furnace of affliction and hottest flames of adversity (as God's cause) to maintain them. He went unto the scaffold, *tanquam apis ad alveare*, as a bee unto his hive; with our Saviour, as a lamb unto the slaughter; and cheerfully undrest himself unto his spiritual repose.

Observe his great temperance, his exemplary chastity (so rare a virtue in so active and firm a constitution), so far free from uncleanness, that it had a refined purity from all lasciviousness of either gesture or speech. His abstinence in his feeding gave unto him constancy in health and readiness unto action, and his sobriety in drinking (whom the sun nor all the sons of men ever saw overcome or disguised by ingurgitations of strong liquors) made him unconquerable by wine or women.

His divine clemency even in the heat and cruelty of the bloody rage of his adversaries is a contemplation which will raise us up unto the very top of admiration. Whose life (after they had butchered his dearest and nearest servants) did he take away? How many of his most active and resolved enemies in his power did he dismiss with our Saviour's caveat unto the blind man, 'Sin no more'? His Majesty, in this divine clemency (which yet some interpreted a cruelty unto himself), imitating the Father of Mercies, who maketh the sun of His favour equally to shine upon the just and the unjust, being so far from procuring or desiring the death of his enemies (unto which he wanted not inciting animosities from others), that he often wished that he could recover those that were already dead.

Neither are there wanting egregious monuments of his kingly munificence and liberality—the great acquisitions of his servants under him shew it, from many of whom, notwithstanding, he had the unhappy returns of ingratitude, desertion, and disloyalty.

And as unto his own servants he was munificent, so espe-

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cially unto those who were set apart for the service of God, whom (with those religious kings, Hezekiah, Josiah, and Constantine) he encouraged by giving the portion of God and our pious ancestors to them; to recover which out of the hands of sacrilegious persons he used many pious endeavours, and propounded compensations which would only have entrenched upon his own profit. When former grants from the Crown of impropriations for years determined, his Majesty always restored them unto the Church, conceiving his best and most royal rights unto the goods of the Church (which he was otherwise by the laws of this realm invested of) to be that of patronage and disposition. And from this princely munificence do I, with all the devotion of an humble and hearty thankfulness, acknowledge to have received a particular encouragement in my profession. This nursing father of the Church knew the best way to support that was by church maintenance, so that by his bounty the Churches in the three kingdoms were lifted up out of the mire of contemptible poverty, and clergymen of noted piety and greatest abilities of learning daily increased. So that setting aside some few, either illiterate, wandering, cock-brained, discontented, or unconscionable Levites, who were in the great reserve of the sacrilegious and rebellious Jeroboams of our time (to secure those two calves of their government and worship which they sought for), no kingdoms of the world were beautified with so many lights of learning and piety as these kingdoms.

Observe the divine graces of this glorious king, the unmoveable stability of his faith—a firm rock, which no storms of popular rage, no swelling surges of the multitude, nor all the proud billows of his insulting adversaries, could alter or unsettle in his pious purpose to preserve the Protestant religion and the laws of this realm. How great was the intention of his sacred hope! and of what exceeding latitude was his charity, which included and enclosed his fiercest

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and most mortal enemies! But the lively features and fair lineaments of his graces and virtues are best and most largely drawn out by his own pencil—'His works praise him in the gate.' His writings present unto us the heavenly portraiture of his divine, large, and grasping soul. These (what they are wanting in volume recompensing an hundred-fold in worth) are the repertory of all his actions and the truest index of his virtues; that book is the quintessence of knowing zeal, the storehouse of the ripe and choice fruits of Christian piety. There are the principles of religion perfectly digested into holy practice—there is the true princely image of King Charles, that *Golden Manual*, being a stately building of meditations, consultations, essays, debates, and devotions, raised upon emergent occasions, with such judicious artifice of grace, adorned with so rich garniture of piety, encouraged with so many fair rooms and convenient receipts for grace, that it shews his body was the temple of the Holy Ghost, that there was no corner or vacuity in his great and glorious soul.

I doubt not (without the height of an hyperbole) to affirm, that in what we have of this holy king's daughter, we are abundantly repaired in the loss of Solomon's physiques—for here is a shop full of heavenly medicines for all the maladies of the soul. By so much then is their sin the greater, whose malice hath deprived us of those later pieces of his Majesty. What already we have is the greatest monument of piety of any king's (after theirs whose writings become authentic from God, as being the penmen of His own divine dictates) since the creation—and shall have continual and unwearied travails made unto it in all languages and kingdoms, by all men and women who know, love, and honour piety, prudence, and all divine and moral graces and virtues, every of which hath its several achievements and particular trophy erected in this one work, which will be as long liv'd as time.

I conclude this short and general survey of his Majesty's personal virtues (worthy of a just volume, and exceeding the

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limits of a sermon) with that eulogy and honour of praise given unto Constantine the Great by Eusebius:—'He was most dear unto God, and proposed by Him a great and excellent example of an holy and religious life for all men's imitations.'

The memory of his piety, and glorious reputation of his virtues, shall be for ever precious; and, whatever dogs bark against it, always remain a fixed and shining star of the greatest magnitude in the firmament of honour. And thou carnal prophet, who walkest by the light of thine own eyes, and callest thy darkness light—thou who (as the Jews unto our Saviour) didst reach the vinegar and gall unto God's anointed in the agony of His sufferings, offerest that false, furious, and forced application of Scriptures which thy counsels must fill up with an interpretation (as the event shews), know that there is a lying and seducing spirit in thee, that thou wrestest the Scripture unto thine own damnation; thou sorcerer and chief witch of these times, 'full of all subtlety and all mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?' Thy Epicurean and sublunary divinity cannot admit that a violent death should be a singular testimony of God's favour, yet here thou seest it in Josiah—wilt thou have all temporal judgments to be punishments due unto sin? Will not thy triumphant wickedness let thee know that some afflictions are for trials, and the additions of grace and glory unto God's children, and therefore the chief marks of God's favour? As in our gracious King Charles, who was also taken away from the evil to come, in God's mercy unto him—which thou, even thou, unto the shame and confusion of thy face (although thou hast hardened it), shall see in the approaching day of England's calamity, which in a great part is procured and hastened by thy infernal counsels—thou needest not to have given that Scripture such a violent stretch, so to strain it as to make it reach from Assyria to

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England, or to travel so far for a reason why his Majesty should not have a royal interment with his ancestors. The causes were nearly these—let me assign them.

First, it had been a condemnation of yourselves to have allowed him solemn and kingly funerals unto whom you gave so unjust and cruel a death—that were to build up what you were resolved to destroy.

Next, you could not but know that the neighbourhood of his sacred earthly remains must needs refricate the scarce skinned sorrows of London—when they should have such a standing and still present monument of their former happiness in his Majesty's peaceable government, and of their new misery in your tyranny, which would serve also (this being the place of the greatest confluence) to recrude the grief of the whole kingdom, and probably beget such compunction and reluctancy, in both city and kingdom, as would testify itself by their attempt to cast you down headlong from your new and wickedly-acquired dominion.

Another reason was, lest the nearness of his body whom you murdered, might too frequently offer unto you the horror of your guilt, and redouble unto you those inward checks and lashings of your conscience (which you cannot be without) and so impede and trouble your counsels.

The devil at the oracle of Apollo of Daphne could not give his answers unto Julian the Apostate, who sent to consult him about his undertakings against the Persians, so long as the body of the martyr Babylas lay by him; so it is to be presumed that the same spirit (which the apostle saith powerfully worketh in the children of disobedience) might be hindered in his co-operation and influence upon those unto whom he hath consigned the chief exercise of his power in our English world, if King Charles his sacred relics were lodged so nigh unto them as Westminster, and therefore Windsor was near enough.

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But from the view of his Majesty's undeniable matchless virtues, let us pass unto that of his sufferings.

Sinful envy never fails to give a malicious attendance upon virtue, which by how much the more it is illustrious, with so much the greater rancour doth she dog and persecute it; and therefore many are the troubles of the righteous. And no mere man had ever more than righteous King Charles. Behold and see if any sorrows and sufferings were like unto his! See one of the most potent monarchs of Europe, loved at home and feared abroad, most injuriously and strictly imprisoned, debarred from the most dear society of the most virtuous and best wife, from the converse and sight of his most sweet and hopeful children, from the attendance of his most faithful servants, from God's house, from God's public worship and all God's servants; forced to cohabit with beasts, brutish, savage, and wicked men, and these to be made the instruments of their cruelty unto him, who were his sworn subjects and servants, upon whom all civil and divine obligations of duty and affection unto his Majesty rested, and that upon pretensions of religion and liberty, of which he was the truest and most undoubted defender; to be under the weight and wounds of so many scandals, reproaches, wants, and miseries, besides the most grievous sense of the sufferings of his kingdoms and best subjects; to be daily tortured with so many iterated, unreasonable propositions and insolent demands; to be racked out of his undoubted royal rights; to make so many concessions and such great condescensions in his propenseness unto grace, which notwithstanding his enemies never meant; to be tormented (if it were possible) with perjury, sacrilege, and atheism; and to have no other conditions propounded for the enjoyment of his crowns and kingdoms than that which the devil made unto our Saviour—'All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me;' to offer his own (that which never was theirs) to deny God, which God gave him to acknowledge and worship Him.

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These must needs be sorrows and sufferings, as beyond expression, so above our conception; most [absolute] tests and trials of all his virtues. Certainly no man had ever more and more strict examinations of God's graces in him, all which he fully considered with a learned and invincible piety: for in all these who ever heard him murmur, repine, or charge God foolishly? who ever heard him accuse, rail at, or threaten his most confirmed foes? With Job, his eyes still poured out tears unto God, Whose justice in their greatest injustice he acknowledged. And although he vindicated his own innocency (having wherewith to justify himself before man) from theirs, yet not before God; he cleared the equity of His judgment upon him, for acting against his conscience in the Earl of Strafford's death. But it was the great and crying guilt of these nations' sins (England's principally) which made this righteous man fall into the pits of his adversaries, to ripen God's judgments upon this nation, by that great addition of guilt (the shedding of his innocent blood), which had so many characters of God's supreme power and spiritual graces upon him, as must needs make this crime committed against God, and draw His speedy and unavoidable vengeance upon them for it.

God usually punisheth one sin by suffering sinners to fall into others, and those customary sins accompanied with senselessness and impenitency, which fills up the measure of sin brimful for judgment to take it off. So that this pious prince fell in the very corruption of Christianity, which is of far more malign aspect, and hath a more malicious influence of impiety upon the actions of men than atheism itself; for then men profess that they know God, yet in their works they deny Him; using the name of God and religion, as conjurers in their incantations, to perpetrate those things that are most contrary unto God and destructive to religion. For, as the devil never doth more hurt than when he appears in the likeness of an angel of light, so are men never so mischievous as when they drive on wicked designs under the show of godliness.

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England's former sins which caused this—God's just dereliction and the abandoning them up into greater—were their exceeding luxury in turning the grace of God (temporal favours) into wantonness. The long continuance of their peace, the increase of their trade, riches, and plenty, begot in them a general insolency and pride, so that when they waxed fat, like Jeshurun, they kicked against God, in the authority and regard due unto his principal officers—the prince and the priest. Hence the people of England (in their generality) became 'self-willed, heady, high-minded,' and incorrigible; they slandered the footsteps of God's anointed, smote him with the tongue, contended with God's priests, and usurped that sacred jurisdiction which God hath delegated unto them, as those conspirators did ('Ye take too much upon you, ye sons of Levi, since all the people of the Lord are holy'), under pretence of the ambition of the clergy. And being like Elihu's new bottles, ready to burst with that liquor of flatuous and superficial knowledge instilled into them by the giddy preachments, and undigested swelling, and tedious prayers of their *lecturers* (who reduced all religion unto lip worship and canting scriptures); hence came it to pass, that contemning the old paths, the truth of the Reformation in the Protestant religion, they contended unto blood to corrupt, by their fanatic alterations, the pure doctrine and evangelical discipline established in the Church of England. To effect which with the more ease, they adventure upon sacrilege; to carry on that, they must pull down episcopacy (the fence of the Church). And here the king as a nursing father interposing, they render him unable—by encroaching upon his prerogatives, quarreling with him, seize upon his strengths, arm, fight against him, imprison, and then murder him. Which last act of rebellion, though the greatest part of the first engagers may be thought never to have intended, yet they may see the first violation of their obedience due unto his Majesty punished by a guilt (thus far) of his innocent blood,—that that power

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which they raised spilt it. So dangerous is it to vary from a Christian principle, or 'to do evil that good may come of it;' God only having power to direct, limit, and determine any evil action. So that look over the pedigree of England's sins through the several descents thereof, and you will find it thus:—Peace begot wealth—that, plenty—that, pride—that, vanity—that, curiosity—that, contention—that, hate of the clergy—that, sacrilege—that, the downfall of bishops—that, the contempt of the king—that, war—that, imprisonment—and that, the murder of the king—a murder, the most horrid murder that ever the sun saw, for subjects to take away their king's life without the prescription of a single example or a law; nay, even against all laws, divine and human, to try him after the form of a judiciary proceeding. This is to entitle God unto the greatest sin, to establish iniquity by a law, and to make God such as themselves. Thus the Jews dealt with our Saviour; 'We have a law, and by that law He ought to die, because He made Himself the Son of God;' although there was no such law, but a new made law—a Junto law, Strafford's law, Canterbury's law, the King's law (consequent laws, laws without names or cognizance), made because he was king. Neither doth their power any more prove the equity of this fact (the great scandal of the Christian name and height of Anabaptistical fury), than the devil's power (which is from God) doth justify his malice (which is from himself).

They have now indeed made King Charles a glorious king, proved him glorious in his personal virtues, glorious in his divine graces, but most glorious in the Christian constancy of his glorious sufferings for God's cause, the true Protestant religion and the laws and liberties of the three kingdoms. Thus hath God extorted a truth from them—for this they spake not of themselves, but (God forcing their testimony) they prophesied.

As we have seen his Majesty's sufferings, and their causes,

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our sins, so let us reflect upon their punishments, as the springs from which our sorrows should arise. The exceeding avarice and hypocrisy (two noted court sins with which the greatest Christian prince Constantine was abused) of the State grandees, the 'deep pits' wherein they laid the fatal snares into which pious King Charles fell, will be visibly punished, for God will 'not be mocked.' The pride, vanity, sacrilege, rebellion, and the cruel murder of his Majesty, will have particular judgments levelled against these sins. Every man's sin, even of those who have fought for his Majesty, who have yet fought against him by their sins, hath given force unto this great stroke and wound given unto these kingdoms in his Majesty's death; and therefore ought every man to proportion his sorrow unto his sins. As King Josiah from Judah, so the strong barricado, King Charles, is taken away betwixt God's judgments and this kingdom; the great and wide inlet of all misery is made by his death. Could our sorrows answer them, like a torrent it would overflow all the banks of reason, and grow too big to be carried away by the channels of our senses. Behold every spring of Jeremiah and Judah's sorrow open up to send forth these flowing streams of affliction upon us, and also arise from the same head; 'The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord, was taken in their pits, of whom we said, Under his shadow we shall live among the heathen.'

Those heavy judgments which the prophet Jeremiah foresaw impending, and after came to pass by King Josiah's death, are, in a great part by King Charles his death, already come upon us. God's house—His beautiful house—'is laid waste; the heathen have entered into the sanctuary, they have made a noise in the house of the Lord, as in the day of a solemn feast.' So that they who in the beginning pretended God, religion, the Church, their cause, have dealt with us as that faction among the Jews, who called themselves 'the Zealous' in the war with Titus, did under pretence

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of defending religion and the law—they possessed themselves of the temple, yet were themselves the first who put fire with their own hands into the holy places.

How hath the avarice and carnal interests of the teachers of these times corrupted the purity of our religion! As Judah's, so England's only prophets have seen vain and foolish things for her, and they have not discovered her iniquity, to turn away her captivity, but have seen for her false burthens and causes of banishment; they have shed the blood of the just (King Charles) in the midst of her. 'England's greatest adversaries are chief, and her enemies prosper. Servants do bear rule over us, and there is none to deliver us out of their hand.'

'They that did feed delicately are desolate in the streets; they that were brought up in scarlet embrace dunghills. Princes are hanged by their hands, and the faces of the elders are not honoured.' War, desolation, and famine, with their sad effects, foretold in these Lamentations, appear in our horizon already, like Elijah's little cloud, which will shortly overspread our whole English firmament; and all these calamities have and will fall upon us, because 'the crown is fallen from our head;' the British Josiah (King Charles) is taken from us, and we have no comforter. And how great and just causes of our sorrows are all these calamities. But let this sorrow have the full advantage in its fall (to add motion unto all the turning-wheels of our afflicting griefs)—the fall from our great happiness in his Majesty's government. Let London, let England, let Scotland, let Ireland, let every of them remember (as Jerusalem did), in the days of her affliction and her miseries, all the pleasant things that she had in the days of old; all the pleasant things they had in the blessed days of King Charles his blessed reign: the glory and truth of her religion, the just execution of her laws, her peace, her riches, her plenty, her liberty at home, and her protection and honour abroad. England was the per-

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fection of beauty and the joy of the whole earth. The kings of the earth and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed that the adversary and enemy should have entered into the gates of (our) Jerusalem, London; that churches should be turned into stables, God's house made courts of Guards, the royal palaces made garrisons, the tithes (the portion of God's ministers) made the soldiers' salary; that the law should be turned into wormwood, our religion and liberty measured out unto us by the pike's length, the decisions of the sword become the principles of faith, and (that which is the cause of all this) mechanic persons, tradesmen (who will certainly mar, never can mend, so great concernments they never before handled or were acquainted with), the sole moderators of public affairs and the chief princes and potentates of our kingdom.

But now the glory is departed from (our) Israel—the ark of God is taken. And now is England become a widow, made a prey unto cruel people and skilful to destroy, who daily force and prostitute her unto their wicked purposes. For these things let England (and every true-hearted Englishman) say, 'I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter (King Charles) that should relieve my soul is far from me. The breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord,' &c. The life of our religion, of our laws, of our liberties, is taken from us; the image of God's power in supreme authority, indemnity, and inviolability is taken from us; our physician, our nursing father, our comforter, our protector is taken from us, and, for our sins, was taken in their pits; so that now we want the wings of his protection among these heathen among whom we live. We are now made very slaves unto the worst of heathen; a people without God, without faith, without law, without rule, without reason, without humanity—without all these, and whose unruly will only is unto them all these. These calamities are all fallen upon us because 'the breath of our nostrils,' &c., pious King

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Charles, is taken from us, like Elias, in a fiery chariot (or as Constantine the Great after his death was impressed on a coin) plucked up by a divine hand into heaven, that his eyes might not see, nor his righteous soul be afflicted with all that evil which is to come upon us to consume us. Woe unto us, for we have sinned! These are but the contracted heads of those miseries which we shall all read over in the vast volumes of our approaching woes; and justly bespeaks such sorrows as might transform us into *Niobes*, make our heads rivers of sorrows, and our eyes fountains for continual tears.

The Lord in mercy look upon us, and wipe away these tears from our eyes, and those causes, our sins, from our souls: and since the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, in mercy unto His Church restore the seed of His martyr, King Charles the First, unto the government of these kingdoms, that religion, peace, and liberty may be restored unto us! I conclude these cries as the prophet doth his Lamentations: 'Turn Thou unto us, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old, if Thou hast not utterly rejected us.' Hear our prayers, O Lord, for Thy Son's sake: unto whom, with the Holy Ghost, be ascribed, &c.[1]

[1] This sermon must have excited attention. For bound up with it is a tract entitled, 'The Resolve continued, or Satisfaction to some Scruples about the putting the late King to Death, in a Letter from a Minister of the Gospel to a Friend in London. Together with a Word to the Parliament, the High Court of Justice, Malignants, Discontented Friends, and the People of the Nation. London, printed by J. Clowes for Hannah Allen at the Crown in Pope's Head Alley, 1649.' (March 12 in writing.) Ezekiel xxxix. 17, 18, text. The whole argument rests on the assertion that in the people is vested the *supreme* right to make and unmake kings, and especially if they become tyrants, or set themselves above the laws. The law gives title to, and therefore can unmake, the king.

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APPENDIX II.

Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη,

OR, SOME CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

Χάρις καὶ Εἰρήνη, or, Some Considerations upon the Act of Uniformity (for Common Prayer); with an Expedient for the Satisfaction of the Clergy within the Province of Canterbury. By a Servant of the God of Peace. London, Printed for Edward Thomas and Henry Marsh, 1662.

Some Serious Considerations upon the Act of Uniformity; with an Expedient for the Satisfaction of the Clergy within the Province of Canterbury. King Charles I, Εἰκὼν Βασ. 161. 'Neither do I desire any man should be further subject to me, than all of us may be subject to God.'

SECTION I.

ALTHOUGH frail nature below, heavenly grace above, and the common float of all things round about me (the lively emblems of mortality), summoned me to die daily, the misery of late time giving leisure enough, their injustice allowing occasion more than enough to those contemplations of mortality, which are never unseasonable, because this is always uncertain: 'Death being an eclipse which often happeneth as well in a clear as in a cloudy day:'—

Although the common burden of mortality that lieth upon me as a man, the clear apprehensions of another world that I am endued with as a Christian, and the serious observation of the successive revolutions of nature that I am capable of

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as an inhabitant of the world, have put me most of the days of my appointed time to wait when my change should come, when I should say, 'I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living; I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world:' the keepers of the house trembling, the strong men bowing themselves, the grinders ceasing, because they are few, and those that look out of the windows being darkened: this dust of mine expected that it should return to the dust from whence it came, and this spirit of mine should return to God that gave it: I was willing that God should hide me in the grave, and that He should keep me secret until His wrath and our calamity was overpast. Although I was thus willing to retire to another world while that darkness covered the face of this,—

Yet when by a wonderful revolution of Providence, managed by nothing less than an Omnipotence, that perplexed chaos of affairs and confused heap was admirably disposed to a sweet odour and beauty, and a new frame of another world, viz. a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness: I was in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better. Nevertheless, to abide in the flesh I thought might be more needful for the Church, whose sad breaches I hoped should now be carefully repaired, whose sacred order, peace, honour, unity, and happiness I hoped should now be recovered to a glory becoming so ancient, so holy, so true, so venerable, so divine a religion as ours, in its nature, author, end, centre, and circumference; so one deserving to be most united and uniform in the Catholic truth which is according to holiness, justice, order, and charity, after the primitive pattern and constant practice of all true Churches, preachers, and professors, founded upon verity, fortified with charity, edified in unity, reverend for antiquity, permanent in their constancy, according to the particular constitutions of every Church which still kept the great and catholic communion as to the main; every

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Christian catechumen, penitent, communicant, deacon, and presbyter keeping the peculiar place wherein God, nature, and the Church hath set them; every member keeping to its congregation, every congregation to their lawful minister, set over them to watch over their souls; every minister to his own bishop, 'obeying them that have the rule over them, and submitting themselves;' every bishop to his metropolitan, upon whom is the 'care of all the Churches;' and the metropolitan to his sovereign, as supreme; and 'he to God, over all blessed for ever.'

The faith delivered to the saints I thought might have been solemnly established; the worship, in spirit and truth, decent, and in order legally settled; the primitive discipline orderly restored; and our ancient Church recovered to that beauty, order, glory, and majesty for which it was spoken of throughout the reformed world, that rejoiced to behold our faith and order. And therefore I was contented, if it stood with the good pleasure and will of God, to be absent a while from that Church which 'Christ presented to Himself—that glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, that it should be holy and without blemish;' that 'city of the living God, that heavenly Jerusalem, from an innumerable company of angels, from the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, which are written in heaven, and from God the Judge of all, and from the spirits of just men made perfect,'—which I well hoped to enjoy; that οὐραὶ ὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, that heaven upon earth, the Church in rest and peace round about, with the beauty of holiness without, as well as all-glorious within; in its doctrine apostolical, in its government primitive, in its order venerable, in its members holy and devout, in its worship heavenly, in its laws exact and prudent; which preserved every Christian, every family, every city, every country, every province, not only in a Church way, communion, and correspondence as to their particular bounds and nearer relations in every parish,

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congregation, city, or county, but as to that general bond of charity, that catholic unity of an universal spirit in a bond of peace, which binds all Christians in one fellowship of one body, whose head is Christ, to whom every true believer and visible professor in the whole latitude of the Church, being by the Word of God and Spirit of Christ fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, doth both edify and increase itself and others in truth and love.

1. Instead of the immediate presence of God (whom blessed are the eyes who see) which I hope to enjoy with these eyes face to face, one thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek also—that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to enquire in His temple. For I have loved the habitation of His house, and the place where His honour dwelleth, ever since I have gone with the multitude, ever since I have gone with them into the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holy day.

How amiable are Thy tabernacles, O Lord God of Hosts! My soul longeth, yea even fainteth, for the courts of the Lord. My heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God. Blessed are they that dwell in Thine house, for they will be still praising Thee.

2. Instead of that perfection of soul, nature, faculties, gifts, and graces which I hope for, I am contented to stay here a while, growing in grace and in the knowledge of God, perfecting holiness in the fear of the Lord; and, withal in my place, to contribute towards the work of the ministry and the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ, by promoting a powerful preaching, by erecting a severe discipline, by exercising an impartial authority, by shewing an exemplary conversation, in order

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to the restoring of that purity, decency, order, and uniformity of Christian religion, which becomes the wisdom and honour of this nation, by the exactest conformity with the Catholic Church, in its purest and primitive constitution; a happiness to be effected and enjoyed by the pious councils, devout prayers, potent preaching, and learned writings of good and great men, owned by all Churches, loved by all people, supported by all princes, according to all right reason, all due order, all politic honour, all scriptural patterns and divine precedents, besides the laws and ancient customs of this Church and State, which had always a due regard to the greatness of their learning, the soundness of their judgment, the gravity of their ages, the sanctity of their lives, and the dignity of their calling.

3. Instead of the excellent society of saints and angels which I hoped for in heaven, I was content to be with the excellent that are in the earth, who content themselves with that plain and pristine holiness which is taught in the Scripture, deposited in the Church, preserved by an holy ministry, expressed in Christian lives, most eminently manifested in Jesus Christ and His Apostles, the great and famous teachers and examples of holy truth, holy duties, holy sacraments, holy orders, and holy ministry in the Church to this time; that holiness by which we obey the command, embrace the truth, fear the threatenings, observe the duties, preserve the institutions, continue the orders, reverence the ambassadors, joy in the graces, hope in the promises, and in all things are conformable to Christ by His blessed Spirit, who transforms us from glory to glory. I mean those holy men (1) that hear the word with trembling; (2) that pray with understanding, constancy, fervency, reverence, and comeliness; (3) that receive the pledges of God's love in Christ from the hands of reverend men, called of God by the Church with care, preparedness, and thankfulness; (4) those holy men who live in sincerity, give with cheerfulness, rejoice in

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well-doing, suffer with patience, live by faith, act by charity, and live in order, contentedness, and humility. A communion of these saints is part of the glory to be revealed. O happy those who enjoy the benefit of their comprehensive abilities, their astonishing accomplishments, their powerful discourses, their obliging conversations, their enflamed devotion, their exact piety, their remarkable integrity, their innocent and large prudence, their fervent zeal, and their public spirit. Oh, it is good for us to be here!

4. Even the high praises of God which we hope shall be in our mouths with angels and archangels, we may enjoy in the holy Church, which, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge God with heavenly praises; they on earth answering one another as they in heaven—Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; not without those excellencies to which the ingenuous industry of Christians hath attained for singing and the use of music, oral and organical, in concert or solitary, whereby God is glorified both in private and in public, either by the skilful or attentive Christians, whose hearts are turned and framed after God's own heart; who are by this heavenly way pleased into a spiritual, holy, humble, and calm frame of spirit and sweet meditations, which are the usual effects of good and grave music on sober and devout souls who are hearing or reading psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, in which the divine truth of the matter affects the enlightened judgment and the quieted conscience by a close, pleasant, and heavenly virtue, with the nearest conformity to the holy minds and spirits of those sacred writs, inspired of God, for the composures of those holy psalmodies.

5. Neither was it the least recompense for the delay of that perfect state, when sin is quite removed, sorrow cast away, tears wiped from men's eyes, to hope for that state of the Church wherein we might be kept regularly to mortify the deeds of the body; where we might have learned to swallow up our sorrow with the graces of patience and joy,

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our fears with a blessed hope, our wants with a pressing faith, our shame with a conquest over the world,—in a word, enjoying, by a gracious converse, a heaven of happiness in this vale of misery, and an eternal life in this shadow of death.

6. These and the like particulars made up that happiness, in the hope whereof I flattered myself to some comfort in my few days, full of trouble; the happiness that we should all have to rejoice with Jerusalem, and be glad with her, 'all we that loved her, and to rejoice for joy withal, we that mourned for her.'

A happiness we thought unquestionable when our God, Who seemed to be angry but for a moment, returned to embrace us with everlasting kindness; when (1) assisted by His grace and blessing, (2) countenanced with the presence and authority of a gracious sovereign, (3) furnished with an incomparably pious, prudent, and learned clergy, (4) befriended by persons of true piety, honour, and prudence, who excelled in virtue, (5) provided for by just, equal, and exact laws, (6) supported by the effectual fervent prayer of devout sons, the Church in all probability was likely to recover her ancient life, vigour, beauty, and glory; (1) by the Spirit of God allaying animosities, and softening the hearts of men to a peaceable and quiet frame; (2) by the prudence of man reconciling interests, closing differences, and filling up distances; (3) by severe laws rooting up those principles, restraining and condemning those practices, that ruined us, those abominations that make desolate; (4) by that cheerful submission for conscience' sake which all men promised to his Majesty's government, upon his miraculous restoration, with that general applause and joy (when the providence and hand of God restored him whom they thought by the providence and hand of God excluded). What could we have answered the messengers of the nations, but that the

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Lord hath founded Zion, and that the poor of the people should trust therein?

Section II.

But that we may be satisfied (as nature informs, reason dictates, and our faith instructs us) in the vanity and vexation of spirit that is written upon all things under the sun—that there is that disproportion in the worth, that weakness in the nature, that uncertainty in the being, that shortness in the duration, that deceitfulness as to all expectations from all things under heaven, that make them unworthy of our hope, unfit for our confidence, and below our trust, being subject to an uncertainty below and a Providence above, and so not capable of giving that final security we may rest in both, because they are weak, and because they are mutable—that we may learn, not out of weak grounds, and not out of too high conceit of those means we use, to build ourselves peremptory imaginations of future events, which the least circumstances, neglected or misplaced, may disappoint:—(1) the not timing or placing our actions right; (2) the not accommodating our means to the variety of occasions; (3) the miscarrying in one circumstance; (4) having our minds too light or voluble, or too fixed and constant; (5) too large and wandering, too narrow and contracted; (6) too credulous and facile, or too diffident and suspicious; (7) too peremptory, resolute, and hasty, too slow, anxious, and discursive; (8) too witty and facetious, too serious and morose, with many other emergencies—may endanger our endeavours and success, that we may depend wholly upon God with patience and humility. 'These uncertainties are but further essays which God would have us make of the world's vanity, the more to fix us on Himself, Who never faileth us that trust in Him. God's providence commands us to retire from all to Himself, that in Him we may enjoy ourselves, which we lose while

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we let out our hopes to others. 'Though the reeds of Egypt break under the hands of him that leans on them, yet the rock of Egypt will be an everlasting stay and defence.'

2. That we may learn that all people are so inconstant in their minds, so uncertain in their fancies, so balanced with their interest, so mutable in their humour, so depending upon the changeable things of this world, so swayed by the private concern of some public guides, that the life and soul of government is that real power and resolution which is in the hand of one or more wise and potent, who are always intent to deserve well of the people, yet always able to curb and repress their insolency and inconstancy. It is indeed a point of wisdom and true honour to deserve well of the good people, to gain their love; but the highest and safest principle of policy, is to command them by power to that just fear, which is the surest ground of their love. No conditions of government ever pleased all subjects—most are unsatisfied with the present, a change always promising them a better. The true temperament is when just and indisputable power is so wisely managed, as may render the governors rather august than dreadful; rather venerable than formidable; setting bounds to men's activity and unquietness, to the raging of the waters and the madness of the people.

3. That we may learn that this capacity of the people of all impressions, (1) to relapse to profaneness, (2) to rest in hypocrisy, (3) to run out to extravagancies, (4) to persist in errors, for want of discipline to cure, of principles to establish, ingenuity to restrain their unsettled natures—is a peculiar temper of the English; who being of quick and high spirits, of various and vehement fancies, inclined to find out many inventions, given to change, to admire novelties, and with most inconsiderate violence to pursue them; whom God bring to Christ in a safe way, where with holy and just restraints (becoming order, justice, and religion) there are

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also the most ingenious liberties and the most liberal fruitions.

I pray God that neither the cares of this world, nor their dulness and incapacity, nor their wants and weaknesses, nor their lusts and passions, nor their prejudice and misunderstanding, may keep the way of true religion before God, wherein they may have rest for their souls.

4. And, lastly, that we may know that personal and private sins may oftentimes balance the justice and hopefulness of public designs, and so walk humbly with God; for these and other reasons, it pleaseth God that,

1. Notwithstanding his Majesty's great condescension and care for public good and peace, by impartial calmness and charity, endeavouring to remove all differences and offences in ways agreeable to the true principles of government raised to its full stature and perfection, as also to the primitive apostolical pattern and the practice of the universal Church conform thereunto, so that he might say with his royal father, 'I have offered all for reformation and safety, that in reason, honour, or conscience I can, reserving only what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the Church, and my people, and also to the next and undoubted heir of my kingdoms:'—

2. Notwithstanding the endeavours of learned, grave, and godly men, who were ablest for gifts, most eminent for their labours, and the highest for their place to reconcile differences, to satisfy scruples and doubts, and to heal our divisions by their prudent counsels, by their rational arguments, by their powerful persuasions:—notwithstanding that his sacred Majesty, knowing that in multitude of counsellors there is wisdom, honour, and safety, called those sober persons of both ways and persuasions, hoping by an healing Conference (after a toleration of mutual converse and correspondence) to have satisfied all reasonable men; when that which seemed good to these men assembled together might

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have been communicated to the kingdom, and as Acts xvi. 5, so the Church might be established in the faith, and increase in number daily :—

3. Notwithstanding the many acts of grace and favour for the person, liberties, and estates of those that had forfeited all by a general rebellion and guilt, vigorously interposing between them and the justice of an exasperated kingdom, and using all princely art and clemency to heal the wounds, to repair the breaches, by an unparalelled act of indemnity, that included all that could but suspect themselves to be any ways obnoxious to the laws, which might have excluded all future jealousies and insecurities, rationally hoping that none would be more loyal and faithful to him than those who, sensible 'of their errors and his favour, would feel in their own souls most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some restorations for former defects; the more conscious he was to his own merits upon his people, the more prone he was to expect all love and loyalty from them;' charitably expecting that Christian ingenuity in all his subjects, that, 'when much was forgiven, would have loved much:'—

Yet behold, instead of that general submission and compliance, that might have hushed all things into an universal calm and quiet, God (in whose hands are the hearts of all men) bowing their hearts as one man to the fear of God and the obedience due to their king—behold a general discontent, fear, sorrow, and sullen sadness upon the face of the kingdom! Behold a catholic murmur and complaint whispered throughout the nation! A contempt of dominion, a speaking evil of dignities, a cursing the king in their hearts, a carrying of tales to shed blood: so that if his Majesty had not his own innocence and God's protection, it were hard for him to stand out against these stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by falsities seeks to oppress the truth, and by jealousies to supply the defects of real causes, which might seem to justify a new engagement against him.

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O those foul and false aspersions, those secret engines, employed against the people's love, that undermining their opinion and just value of his Majesty's enemies, and of theirs too, might blow up their affection and their loyalty! O the sin and danger of poor people's souls, whose eyes once blinded with mists of suspicion and fears, they are soon misled into the most desperate precipices of action!

Alas! for that loose, licentious, and languishing posture whereunto (notwithstanding all means of settlement) some men's distempers and indifferences already have, and further seek to reduce this nation as to any settled doctrine, uniform professions, catholic order, and national communion!

O what dividings, shatterings, schisms, separatings, sidings, strifes, envies, animosities, and contempts, whence grow confusion and every evil work! O that loose and indifferent way of Christian administration and profession, that is insisted upon by some for themselves and posterity, according to every man's private fancy, choice, and humour, without such solemn establishment and public union, as hath in all ages and nations best edified and fortified, counselled and corrected, excited and increased both gifts and graces in a most comely and most Christian order, with such harmony, unity, majesty, and authority, as best becomes the servants, religion, and Church of Christ!

O what beauty, what order, what harmony, what unity, what gravity, what solidity, what candour, what charity, what sobriety, what correspondence is offered, is endeavoured, by the judicious affections, tender compassions, prudent counsels, conscientious care, attended with discreet zeal, fervent prayers, and unfeigned tears of good men, whose aim is to promote sound knowledge, fruitful faith, hearty love, discreet zeal, severe repenting, fervent prayer, just fears, unspeakable comforts, well-grounded hope, spiritual joy, heavenly meditation, holy conversation, tender compassion, meekness of obedience, and conscientious submission. In a word, a frame of Chris-

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tian carriage to God and to others, in order to men's own souls and their neighbours' good.

O the excellent ways proposed, that learning might flourish, knowledge multiply, graces abound, excellent preaching thrive, sacraments be duly administered and devoutly received, the fruits of God's Spirit mightily diffused in common honesty, hospitable kindness, Christian charity, plain-hearted sincerity!

O the crafts and policies, the frauds and factions, the jealousies and distancies, the malice and animosities, the rudeness and disorders, the insolencies and hypocrisies, the rashness and uncharitableness, the envies and enmities, the rapes and outrages still pleaded for and upheld! by 'prophets that prophesy falsely, that the priests might bear rule by their means, and the people will have it so. What will they do in the end thereof?'

Section III.

Now it pleased God, by the public counsel of King, Lords, and Commons, to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages, by this Act of Uniformity, composed with that gravity and discretion of pious, moderate and wise men, as might allay and fix the people to a due temperament, guiding their well-meaning zeal by such rules of moderation as might best preserve and restore the happiness of Church and State. A neglect of due obedience to this Act (in such way as shall hereafter be expressed), a contempt of its authority, a discontent under its restraints, evil thoughts and discourses of the authors and composers, and a general opposition to its blessed design of peace and settlement;—I appeal to the tender consciences of sober men who live within sight of the great day of the revelation of the righteous judgment of God, whether they be not—1. exceeding sinful; 2. desperately mischievous; 3. very dangerous.

1. They seem to be very sinful, because they seem against

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the consciences of good men, which are guided—1. By the Word of God, which says expressly (O consider it ye tender-conscienced men), 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.' (1 Pet. ii. 13.) 'Ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but for conscience sake,' (Rom. xiii. 5,)—though not for conscience of the thing commanded, yet for conscience of the power commanding: the thing itself may be indifferent, yet your obedience necessary. 'Obey them that are over you in the Lord, and submit yourselves.' It was a holy man's advice (Mr. Brinsley), that we should take heed how we beforehand take up resolutions, whether of opposing or not obeying; both may, and ought to have, a very favourable and indulgent interpretation, yet presumptuous disobedience justly subjects a man to the highest censure. Express for this purpose is that judicial law (which hath a great deal of morality couched in it), Deut. xvii. 12: 'The man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken to the priest, or to the judge, even that man shall die; and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.' Take we heed then how we entertain any thoughts that way, but rather prepare our ears and hearts to hear what the Lord will say unto us; or see what message He will send by the hands of these His servants, who have been so long time enquiring after His pleasure, which being made known unto us, resolve (in what we may) to submit and obey. So did the Churches to whom Paul and Silas delivered their decrees; they delivered them to be kept by them, and so they were; and so were the Churches established. 'Now I praise you, brethren,' saith St. Paul, 'that you remember all things, and keep the ordinances delivered unto you.' (1 Cor. xi. 2.) Be obedient as to Christ, that is, by the same necessity, for the same reason, to avoid the same punishment, to have the same reward, by the same religion; that you may not prevaricate the laws of God, or do violence to your own consciences. Nothing can add light to these so clear words; they are as bright as

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the sun, clear as an article of faith, easy and intelligible, according to the nature of universal divine commandments.

2. This opposition to the Act of Uniformity is against *the Oath of Supremacy*, which is this, *That we declare the King's Highness supreme governor of this realm, and swear to assist and obey him and all authorities united or annexed to the Imperial Crown of this realm.* A religious attestation, which most that oppose this Act have made before God, the searcher of hearts, with an imprecation of His heavy wrath upon them if they break or abuse His name in it—that they owned his Majesty's authority in ecclesiastical affairs. Which oath I hope they took in truth, righteousness, and judgment. Do not they fear an oath? Do not they know 'that for oaths the land mourned?' I hope I speak to men fearing God, that walk uprightly, work righteousness, and 'speak the truth in their heart,' and though 'they swear to their hurt, yet change not.' Now, alas! you deny the supremacy you have sworn to, if you allow not his Majesty power to impose a ceremony, to settle a discipline, to establish an ecclesiastical law. Alas! he cannot shew his authority in things necessary, for his subjects are tied to them already; nor in things sinful, for they are forbidden already; nor in things indifferent, for then all men must be at liberty. Wherein have you sworn to him as supreme? Oh, be not deceived, God will not be mocked. Shall the laws of one solemnly acknowledged supreme magistrate, which are (1) scriptural as to the main ground, rule, and end of them, (2) rational as to the order, decency, and gravity of them, (3) primitive and catholic—be disowned, repined at, and complained of, by men sworn to observe those laws? Oh, men fearing God, 'when you have vowed a vow, defer not to pay it, for He hath no pleasure in fools.' Suffer not thy mouth to cause thy flesh to sin, neither say thou before the angel, It is an error. Wherefore should God be angry at thy voice, and destroy the works of thine hands? for in

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many words which may be alleged to excuse the violation of this oath, there is vanity: 'But fear thou God.'

3. This opposition to his Majesty's authority in matters ecclesiastical is against their own conscience (and unhappy are they that condemn themselves in others, in those things which they allow). You that disown authority in matters of religion, did not you exercise it? you that repine at the imposing of the Liturgy, did not you impose the Directory? you that are troubled for deprivation upon non-subscription, did not you turn out holy, pious, painful ministers, because they durst not take the Covenant, or subscribe the Engagement? Only the same measure that you measured out to others shall be measured to you; you shall suffer but what you have done. Neither is his Majesty more severe in supporting his government by *laws*, than the Parliament was to support theirs by an *ordinance*. Thus I see (saith the royal martyr) those who were the most rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, are least disposed to the due obedience of lawful constitutions; so that I know not whether they sinned more against their own consciences by violently opposing our established order, or by violently imposing their own. Oh, suffer others to deal with you as you have dealt with others; this is the Law, this is the Prophets.

4. This discontent of yours to the present establishment is very partial (for men that know they should have no respect of persons, and that nothing should be done through partiality). You who could call an usurping tyranny a *liberty*, who could be contented with that variety of governments and factions that exercised the nation's patience, can discern nothing in a lawful prince but jealousies; in a settled Church but superstition; nothing in ancient laws but persecution; nothing in an established religion but Popery. 'Are ye not, brethren, partial in yourselves, and become judges of evil thoughts?' (Jas. ii. 4.) If ye fulfil the *royal law* according

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to the Scripture, ye do well; but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law for transgressors.

5. This unexpected discontent seems to be a great scandal and offence to his Majesty, the defender of our faith, and all other kings and governors, who will now look upon Protestants as impatient of government, enemies of order, and disturbers of peace. When they are thus unquiet under an innocent government, how will they behave themselves under a severer tyranny? If they are thus impatient of their good and gentle, how impatient will they be of their morose and austere masters? It is an offence to the Church to see its laudable customs decayed, its venerable laws neglected, its ancient canons despised, its great Example despised; and that he is now the best Christian who was formerly the worst infidel, that *did not hear the Church.* It is a grief to good men that have many sad thoughts of heart for the divisions of *Reuben;* and a joy to the bad, who cry, '*Aha! so would we have it.*' Oh, woe to the world because of offences; woe to those men by whom offences come. Brethren, you are called to liberty, but it is a great sin to use your liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. It is not good to do anything whereby *thy brother,* much less whereby the whole Church, stumbleth or is offended. If the primitive Christians, when it was at their own choice whether they should use some indifferent thing, or whether they should not use them, complied in their practice with their brethren, determining their liberty so as to give no offence; what shall they answer to the God of peace, whose liberty, though determined by superiors, is used by them to the disobedience of those superiors and the offence of their brethren?

6. The present distemper seems to be ungrateful in regard of other favours of his Majesty; his Majesty hath saved our lives, and now do we stand upon our liberty. Now we had been many days without a king, without a prince, and with-

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out a sacrifice, and newly return to seek the Lord and David our king; shall we so far sin against the Lord as to run back to our former method of sin and misery? God forbid! Are we newly pardoned and saved, to return with the dog to his vomit, and with the sow to her wallowing in uncleanness? Do we live by His mercy, and shall we not make Him that natural, equal, and easy return, to live in His obedience?

This *non-conformity* is not only sinful in its nature, but as mischievous in its apparent effects, which are—

1. A needless breach of the communion of saints. Oh sad, that men professing one religion, acknowledging one God, partaking of one faith, initiated by one baptism, joined together with one Spirit, redeemed with one precious blood, called to one hope, looking for one common salvation, should for things confessed indifferent keep up divisions, foment distances, and refuse to be of one heart, one mind, and one way, that the Lord may be one, and His name one!

2. A dishonour to the Gospel, whose design is peace, whose Author is a Prince of Peace, whose preachers are ambassadors of peace, whose Spirit is a Spirit of peace, whose highest honour was meekness and peace, but, alas! is become now the great make-bate of the world, the enemy of government, the subverter of laws, the pretence of faction, that which *turns the world upside down.* Woe is us when our excellent religion is ill-spoken of by reason of our unworthy conversation! The *heathen* whom we should convert, will be jealous of us; the *Turk* whom we should convince, will keep at a distance from us; the *Papist* whom we should reform, will persecute; when we cannot live under lawful, mild, and just governments, but are disobedient, high-minded, *having a form of godliness, and denying the power thereof.*

3. This non-conformity will continue those distractions which endangered the first Reformers at Frankfort, disturbed the State in Queen Elizabeth's time, disquieted the Church in King James his days, and ruined the Church and State

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in King Charles his times, that time of the best temper and the healthfullest constitution, made up of sincere truth, unfeigned charity, liberal piety, unaffected decency with just authority and uninterrupted succession, entertained with holy moderation and humble prosperity. Come not thou, my soul, into their secrets; unto their assemblies, mine honour, be not thou united; who maintain a perpetual dissension and cherish the grounds of an endless schism, as serves to give both occasion and confidence to different parties, both to excite their private ambitions, and in turn to exert them in ways of open hostility, whensoever opportunity is given by any negligence, offence, or distemper in governments or governors.

4. This non-conformity will obstruct the promotion of true piety. While men are too much engaged in the circumstances, they neglect the substance, of religion; while by a sullen separation they withdraw from one another, to an incapacity of exhorting one *another while it is called to-day, lest any be hardened through the deceitfulness of sin; of provoking one another to love and to good works; and of following after the things that make for peace, and things wherewith we may edify another.*

This public disagreement will be a great obstruction to the progress of the Gospel, which will never be received by others until we are agreed in the profession of it ourselves. While we are thus unhappily engaged one against another, we cannot all end that public service of making *the way of God to be known upon earth, His saving health among all nations.*

It is too great an advantage to the common enemy, who making use of parties' reasons and passions against others, thereby overthrows all. It was the advice of Cardinal Allen to the persons that undertook to reduce Ireland back again to Popery—'that they should apply themselves to the non-conformists, and possess them with the covetousness, ambition, and superstition of the conformists on the one hand; and on the other they should apply themselves to the conformists, and

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possess them with the factiousness, disobedience, and disorders of the non-conformists, that so they might be provoked to spend their fury upon each other to their mutual ruin.' I speak as to wise men, judge you what I say.

7. This rupture is dangerous to our native country, for besides the Roman advantage, which is greatest and last, the private passions and various interests of factions and parts will hazard the civil peace, by endeavours to promote their several opinions and pretences under any specious name whatsoever. Alas! if these separations continue, men knowing that there is but one religion, as there is but one God, and His holy will but one! every one is prone to presume that he is in the right. Next, he grows so partial to his own persuasions, to imagine his above all others best and only pleasing to God, then he concludes all other ways of religion as displeasing to God as to himself; hence zeal and impotent impulses to propagate his own way and overthrow all others as an acceptable service and sacrifice to God; which is done, first by words, disputing, writing, railing, and reviling; if that will not serve to reform the obstinate world, then he first wisheth, afterward useth, the sword as soon as he and his party can get number and power sufficient to act with probable safety. Such an opportunity he counts a call of God, an hand of providence inviting and directing what to do to establish his own way against all others, never so approved of good men and prospered by God's grace and blessing. Yea, therefore, we may observe that they are unwilling to grant that freedom to others, their inferiors in number and power, which they once desired of their superiors upon a reason of state that dictates to all men thus much—'That public differings in matters of religion are very dangerous to the civil peace of those that enjoy power and are quiet under it;' which every party secretly envieth, repines at, and endeavours to obtain for itself; and therefore makes no more conscience of any civil or ecclesiastical subjection or Christian patience

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and submission, longer than they are balanced by the power and prudence of superiors, that they *cannot subdue all things under their feet.* Oh it is a pity that those more minute opinions and persuasions (when religion which should restrain, stirs up men's passions) should have more power to divide than all the agreements in other main matters hath to preserve love and unity as men, countrymen, and Christians, insomuch that the Church of England, which was grown to that height of beauty, piety, order, moderation, and honour as became the glory of God, the majesty of the Christian religion, and the wisdom of this nation, hath often in Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Elizabeth, and King James's time, been endangered by these strugglings in religion (which the public power, policy, and vigilancy of those times repressed), and at last was undone by such breaches that are unparalleled in former, and will be scarce credible in after ages.

8. This reluctancy of some against the present establishment, threatens all government; which consists in a full power to establish and maintain laws, equity, justice, and religion; on the one hand, that we may lead peaceable and quiet lives in all godliness and honesty; and on the other hand, in due obedience for conscience sake to those laws and methods of government, every one studying to be quiet and to follow his own business.

If you now refuse the seasonable and well-advised law, order, and decency proposed by the Church under pretence of liberty of conscience, you will teach others to refuse laws of the same nature from you. With the same arguments that you oppose the directions of the Liturgy, others did arise who opposed the rubrics of the Directory. And there is no stop in setting up private opinions against public determinations, but in confusion, disorder, and ruin to your private judgment. You cannot allow present laws—others' private judgment cannot allow your ordinances. It is your thoughts that you are above forms—it is others' thoughts they are above

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ordinances. You dislike a surplice, they dislike a gown. You cannot approve the bishop's double honour of reverence and revenue, and they cannot approve yours of reverence and tithe. You cannot use the cross in baptism, they cannot use baptism itself. You cannot admit some innocent circumstances in the Lord's Supper, they cast off the Lord's Supper itself. You cannot away with music, nor they with psalms. What end would there be of dissensions, unless the magistrate did interpose for outward peace and order? Men surely would grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived, till their folly be made manifest to all men. What dissolution of order—what novelties of opinions—what indecencies of administration—what sacrilegious invasion of the Church—what contempt of the clergy—what overthrows of magistrates and all government, have been managed by the principles now contended for, all sober men have beheld with sorrow of heart, and can bear witness to with their sighs, tears, and ruin! *Oh tell it not in Gath, publish it not in Askelon!* I pray God give us all moderation and impartiality, the best tempers in religion, impassionately to consider from whence we are fallen by human policies, and to what we are transported by popular zeal; that all distempers may be laid aside by free converse and a Christian correspondence, whereby those sad principles of everlasting schism might be removed, by which on one side men think, because in many things they are right, therefore they can err in nothing; and on the other side, because in some things men have mistaken and erred, therefore there can be nothing right; without regard to that truth and charity which is the life and quintessence of the Christian religion.

It is of very dangerous consequence, that you who should promote the joy and thankfulness of his Majesty's loving subjects for his happy restoration, should now occasion these fears, jealousies, and public sorrow. That when all rejoice to see things grow up to a public order and symmetry, you should be discontent (as when all the people cried *Hosanna*

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the Pharisees murmured), is a sin against that Deut. xxviii. [47, 48], where it is said, *Because thou servest not the Lord thy God with joyfulness and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things, therefore* (which is the danger) *shalt thou serve thine enemy in hunger, in thirst, in nakedness, and in want of all things, and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thee, till he have destroyed thee.*

THESE ARE THE DANGEROUS CONSEQUENCES OF NONCONFORMITY, viz.

1. Hiding your talents in a napkin and putting your light under a bushel, and becoming unserviceable in your generation.

2. The grief of many good people who value high your persons and gifts, who thought you would have died for them under persecutions, and therefore you would much more obey for their sakes under a lawful prince.

3. The disadvantage of the Church, which by your unexpected revolt will miss your gifts and services which were devoted to it.

4. The disparagement of your brethren, who are censured as unworthy, for practising those things which, rather than you will do, you will resist unto blood, whereby their labour is rendered unserviceable for those souls from whom your labour is withdrawn.

5. The undoing of your families, for whom ye are to provide, unless ye will be worse than infidels. Oh your wives and children, what have they done, that while you are disputing whether you should wear a gown, or whether you should stand or kneel, whether you had best address these sort of words, or those, to Almighty God—in a word, whether you should obey or rebel—these should perish? If you should go out (which God forbid), it is you that will be thought to turn out yourselves, for men judge that the law intends only obedience and peace, and that the offenders

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cause the punishment. The Parliament would have you live orderly and obediently in your places; you will not; who is to be blamed? But you *cannot believe* the Orders of the Church to be lawful and obliging, and the whole kingdom in Parliament *cannot believe* that non-conformity is lawful. You cannot *submit*, and the whole kingdom in Parliament cannot think you fit to be encouraged with ecclesiastical livings unless you *submit*. Whether then is it more fitting the whole kingdom should *submit* to you, or you to the whole kingdom, judge ye. In a word, if you do resist the moderate impositions the Church lays upon you, I humbly crave leave to offer it to your consideration what judgment the Protestant Churches are likely to make of your proceedings, and how your cause and the Church's will stand represented to them and to all future ages.

The present Danger is this.

As in disaffected bodies the humours fall to the weakest part, so in a distempered kingdom the ill-disposed persons fall in with the discontented part.

1. Upon this falling off of your party, there are persons exasperated by just punishments on themselves and relations.

2. There are thousands, purchasers of delinquent's, dean's, chapter's, bishop's, king and queen, and prince's lands, unsatisfied.

3. There are thousands of cavaliers, notwithstanding all care to provide for them, dejected.

4. There are abundance of atheists and neuters expecting some trouble and alteration, and persons of desperate fortunes wish they may once more fish in troubled waters.

5. There are several persons turned out of livings by the proper owners thereof, and notwithstanding they are willing to 'submit,' are not likely to be admitted to so good again.

6. There are many of the old army that want employment.

7. There are thousands of disobliged sectaries.

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8. There are too many that, for want of trading, are not able in this dead time to provide for themselves and families, who would be all willing to hazard themselves in the Engagement of '41. They are in their method already; Popery preached against, ceremonies and Liturgy are cried down, the reverend clergy affronted, non-conformists are pitied, the silencing of them is resented; trading is dead, taxes are complained of, meetings are appointed, plots discovered, and all things by your dissent tend to a confusion. These thoughts I leave to your cooler and more moderate intervals, to meditate upon between yourselves and the great Searcher of hearts.

The Expedient.

But my business is not so much to exasperate as to accommodate Dissenters, and therefore I shall entreat those reverend persons concerned seriously to consider the following propositions (which, if assented to, will bring them up to the design of the Act of Uniformity) agreed upon by all sober Protestants.

Prop. 1. That since the first plantation of true religion—which is a judicious and sincere devoting of the whole soul to God as the supreme good offered us in Jesus Christ, and the right performance of that duty we owe to that God upon such grounds, to such ends, and after such manner as He requires it of us—there have been an holy company called by His word to the knowledge of God in Christ, who in all holy ways and orderly institutions publicly profess their inward sense of duty and devotion which they owe to God, by believing and obeying His word; and also that charity which they owe to all men, especially to that household of the faith that holds communion with Christ's body, the Catholic Church.

Prop. 2. It is agreed, that this outward profession of religion, as it is held forth in the word, in its truth, zeals, duties, and ministry, makes one Church Catholic of all Chris-

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tians, joined in a mysterious inward and religious communion with God and one another in Christ, by the word and spirit in the inward part of religion, and in obedience, charity, and comely order, as to the outward part of that religion; and that any part of this Church, distinct by civil limits and relations from others, may own and establish such a Church power, relation, and association in matters of religion, as may best preserve themselves in true doctrine, holy order, Christian peace, and good manners, by joint counsel and more vigorous power and mutual charity. (Such a Church at *Corinth*, 1 Cor. i. 2; Acts xiii. 1. *Antioch*, Acts iv. 23. *Tit.*, seven Churches of *Asia*.)

Prop. 3. It is agreed upon, that in the outward profession of religion there are many circumstantial ceremonies of order and decency to be determined by the Church, according to the general rule of the Scripture and the primitive practice of the Church, and that all members of the Church are to rest satisfied with that determination—'If any be contentious, we have no such custom, nor the Churches of God.'

Prop. 4. We are agreed, that besides the spiritual power of the Church over her particular members, there is a coercive power belonging to the magistrate under Christ, 'by whom kings reign,' to regulate men's lives and conversations according to the faith professed, the worship established, and the order observed in that Church, as a 'nursing father to the Church.' It is the duty and happiness of kings to make their subjects fear God, that they may be blessed of God; and under them, as under the good kings of the Old Testament, lead peaceable and quiet lives in all godliness and honesty. These keepers of both tables are to be a terror to all evil doers, and an encouragement to them that do well, having the law of God before their eyes—religion, that συνεκτικὸς κοινωνία, being the first care of princes.

Prop. 5. The magistrate (whom the people are to pray for, that God would direct his heart, shew him the way in which

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he should go, and make his paths plain before [him]) is to make use of his conscience in enacting laws according to his judgment well advised, as well as his subjects make use of their consciences in obeying them according to their opinion. They that would not be blamed because they cannot in conscience submit to an uniformity imposed, must not blame his Majesty if he could not in conscience but impose an uniformity.

Prop. 6. We are all agreed, that as we should convince those meekly that oppose themselves, so (1) the Church by a wise, grave, charitable, and solemn discipline dispensed by worthy men, (2) the magistrate by just laws and penalties, should restrain men from saying or doing anything publicly scandalous to or derogating from the honour, peace, and order of that religion which is esteemed, and therefore settled, as the best and truest. 'To charge that they teach no other doctrine.' (1 Tim. i. 3.) 'To charge men not to strive about words to no profit, but the subverting of the hearers.' (2 Tim. iii. 14.) 'To stop their mouths who subvert whole houses; to restrain any man that teacheth otherwise and consenteth not to wholesome words, who are proud, not knowing anything, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereby cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings.' (1 Tim. vi. 4.) 'Not suffering them who call themselves prophets to teach and seduce God's servants.' (Rev. ii. 20.) 'Jure Deorum majestas vindicatur ab eo qui solo Deo minor,' saith Nature: Cicero. Οὐδὲν ῥῆμα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. (Jos. Cont. Ap. 2.) 'Nec alio more, aut novo colat.' (Leg. 12. Tab.) Θεὸν σεβεῖν κατὰ πάτρια, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τιμᾷν ἀναγκάζειν, it was the grave advice to Augustus, and the case of Heathen and Jewish government.

Prop. 7. We are all agreed, that these restraints ought to be by such penalties 'as may be a terror of evil doers.' And the king sitting on the throne of judgment may scatter away all evil with his eyes. Especially when an uniformity is pressed, not upon the conscience upon pain of damnation, but upon

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their outward practice, upon pain of the loss of some privilege which a public society can allow to none but those who are true to its interest, and sure to its peace and order enjoined by God, Who 'is not the author of confusion but of order, as in all the Churches of the saints.' To which penalties we are to submit with meekness, possessing our souls with patience, taking care we be not 'murmurers or complainers.' And though the spirit of the governor be stirred against us, yet let us not stir out of our place, but by a modest courage pacify wrath. *Magnum mundo documentum datum est—parere.*

Prop. 8. We are agreed, that as God is *αὐτούσιος ἀνυπεύθυνος αὐτεξούσιος*, owing no rule or measure of His actions but His own good pleasure, so all His creatures depending upon Him, as greater, wiser, and juster than themselves, have their holy limits and bounds set them by God, which the more they observe, the more rational and divine liberty they enjoy; the true and eternal liberty consisting in this, viz. in being freed from chains of darkness and sin, (1) ignorance of mind, (2) error of understanding, (3) perverseness of will, (4) excess of passion, (5) violence of temptation, (6) depravedness of custom, prevalency of interest, or delusion of examples wherewith the soul is enthralled,—and by the wisdom of the word and power of Christ, in being willing to that which we know God would have us, and in doing willingly whatever we so will and know as most conformable to His will. True liberty is to guide us privately and publicly alone, and with others to guide our thoughts, opinions, judgment, conscience, speech, and action; as sober men, by the ingenious restraint of reason and religion, of modesty, humanity, honour, civility, charity, and society; and as sober Christians, by the law of God, the established order, good laws, just power and government, in things civil and sacred. It is far from Christian liberty to think, speak, act, write, and dispute what he pleases privately and publicly, according as his private persuasions, his prevailing lust, interest, and temptations, with other men's importunities, may

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guide him, without regard to right reason, common order, public peace, reverence of men, or fear of God; as if they had no yoke of Christ upon them, no care of the duties of patience, self-denial, mortification, meekness, charity, modesty, sobriety, together with that comeliness that beseems religion and a Christian spirit; as if it were Christian liberty to be led captive to all impudencies and violences by *the devil at his will*, and to have that sad misery of doing *what we will*, by following vain, erroneous, and blasphemous thoughts, raw, undigested, and rash fancies and opinions, with irregular, disorderly, and unwarrantable ways, *whereby men are servants to their lusts* (2 Pet. ii. 17), and are in danger of making it a cloak of maliciousness, to the dissolution of human societies, with the mutual relations of superiors and inferiors that uphold them. Whereas true liberty, *that glorious liberty* of the sons of God, is (1) to do such things constantly, cheerfully, and without sinful impediment, which are most proper and advantageous to the excellent nature of man towards God in devout piety; (2) to do those things charitably, orderly, and gravely and soberly, which are duties of obedience, public or private, which God hath commanded every one, not only in general, but in particular places and callings as God hath set them in, as free from that malice, uncharitableness, those envies, discontents, and worldly disorders in any kind, as they may have dominion over mere natural and sinful man; to be free out of a principle of love to obey God and man for the Lord's sake, in order to God's glory, the praise, good example, and benefit of others, in any human or Christian society.

Prop. 9. We are agreed, that there is a liberty of wisdom, piety, and charity, which ought to be exercised by governors in Church and State, according to their consciences; making such laws and restraints as they in conscience think fit for the public welfare, although those laws and restraints are against the private opinions and liberties of singular men.

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Public men's thoughts and consciences, and not private, are to be the rule of public laws and good. It were as unreasonable as it is impossible for magistrates to frame laws according to their subjects' consciences and not their own; and so, when they do not regard the pleas of private liberty to overthrow public order, they are not to be spoken against as persecuting men, whom they only keep from those exorbitances that may undo them, or as oppressing other men's consciences, when they are only discharging their own duty and consciences which they bear to God's glory and the public good, for which they must be accountable to God. According to the magistrate's conscience, Christians truly blessed with tender consciences and meekness of wisdom are most willing to be kept within Christian bounds, and most unwilling to take any liberty, either in opinion or manners, beyond what in the truth of the word or in charity unto the public peace is permitted, and most thankful for all just restraints.

Prop. 10. We are agreed, 'that it is not enough for us to please ourselves (Rom. xv. 1) and satisfy our own consciences that we do but what we lawfully may, but we ought also to bear one another's burden, and do for others' sake what we may otherwise and are willing to leave undone; and so fulfil the law of Christ, and by law serving one another:' *omnia libera per fidem, omnia serva per charitatem.* In indifferent things (and that there are some things indifferent we all agree), we should know and be fully persuaded that all things are lawful; and to purpose and fully resolve, for charity and peace, to use or forbear the use of those things as we find them expedient or inexpedient. He that will have his own way in everything whatsoever, though others will take offence at it, maketh his liberty but a cloak of maliciousness by using it uncharitably. We may retain our judgment concerning things indifferent with Christian liberty, but we must conform our practice for Christian charity. I am free in my judgment for any habit, gesture, &c.

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I will submit in my practice to that which is publicly imposed. I am free in my conscience and opinion by the law of man concerning things commanded. I may think of them what I please. I am bound in my conscience to submission, active or passive, by the law of God; and I must not do what I please when orderly ceremonies are enjoined, not as the parts, but as the decencies and becoming circumstances of worship (which all allow). A man may be free to think that there might be more decent ceremonies pitched upon by himself or others if they were in place or power, and in the meantime submit to the wisdom of those in authority that imposed.

Prop. 11. We are agreed, that as the public constitutions enjoining orders, decency, and uniformity, tending to edification, restrain not the liberty of conscience whereby men are free to do or leave undone some things; so the suggestions of men against those constitutions do restrain men's liberty, exercise dominion over their minds, by forbidding them that which we say they are free to do. So it is superstition to forbid that as sinful which is in truth indifferent, and therefore lawful; so making that sin which God never made, and ensnaring men's consciences, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. And therefore we should stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.

Prop. 12. We are agreed, that they who can submit to some impositions about things, may submit to all which are imposed by the same authority, in the same manner, to the same end.

Prop. 13. We are agreed, that no authority can in conscience, or with safety, allow men liberty in ways of worship different from the public profession and conscience. 1. Not in conscience, because, as the good kings of Judah, he is to allow no known evil. 2. Not in safety, because differences in religion are dangerous to the State (when that which should restrain, stirs up men's passions); therefore Josiah

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and the king in the Gospel 'compelled them to come in,' to serve the God of their fathers—*inde furor vulgo.* Indeed, for men furnished with just power in Church or State, to leave men in a full liberty of seducing and being seduced, is to concur with the malice of the devil, and the folly, vanity, and madness of men's hearts, to the ruin of multitudes. I leave it to your own consciences, whether it would not be thought safe and conscientious by them, if power were in their own hands, and Church affairs left to their ordering, to forbid those things they now dislike, with as much rigour and necessity of imposition as the Church enjoineth them?

Prop. 14. We are agreed, that though many godly men should refuse to conform, yet should we submit to order, reason, peace, reason and law; not suffering ourselves to be carried away with the high estimation of any men, as to subject ourselves to their judgment and wits, without questioning the truth of what they teach, or the lawfulness of what they enjoin, having not men's persons in admiration, knowing that they are subject to such infirmities as we are.

Prop. 15. We are agreed, that it is lawful for the magistrate to impose severe punishments upon the small faults of dangerous men of dangerous principles, knowing that men of such dispositions, who disobey in this, are prepared to disturb in all. So it is not lawful for the people, upon the least offence, to cast off necessary duty, as knowing that they are at liberty to pray, preach, &c. with what gesture or garment they will, yet refusing to pray kneeling, or preach in a surplice.

> 'Oh, when our clergy at the dreadful day
> Shall make their audit; when the Judge shall say,
> Give your accounts: what, have My lambs been fed,
> Say, do they all stand sound? Is there none dead
> By your defaults? Come, shepherds, bring them forth,
> That I may crown your labour in their worth—
> Oh, what an answer will be given by some!
> We have been silenced—canons struck us dumb;
> The great ones would not let us feed Thy flock,
> Unless we play'd the fool, and wore a frock;

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We were forbid, unless we'd yield to sign
And cross their brows, they say, 'a mark of Thine.'
To say the truth, great Judge, they were not fed;
Lord, here they be—but, Lord, they be all dead.
Ah, cruel shepherds! could your conscience serve
Not to be fools, and yet to let them starve?
What, if your fiery spirits had been bound
To antic habits, or your heads been crown'd
With peacock plumes; had yet been forc'd to feed
Your Saviour's dear-bought flock in a fool's weed?
He that was scorn'd, revil'd, endur'd the curse
Of a base death, in your behalf; nay, worse,
Swallow'd the cup of wrath, charg'd up to the brim;
Durst ye not stoop to play the fool for Him?'

Prop. 16. Where it is said, that it is wonderful to see so many men rational and sober, to hazard all they have, and refuse the way to rise, which they know as well as others; we are afraid that this is not the first time that men have sacrificed their present happiness to the honour of their way, living by faith in hope of better times. It was as hazardous to oppose public authority in 1640 as it is now, yet men ventured it with too good success. Alas! they that have so much wisdom as to control their superiors, may have so much wisdom too as to cast off some present advantage for a future hope.

Prop. 17. Whereas men say that a general conformity of the ministry would be a general scandal to the people, we are agreed, that we are to please the people only for their good. While things are in agitation, it is lawful for private men to offer their thoughts, with the reason thereof, modestly and meekly; but after things are once established, as the people must submit, so the ministers should take more care not to disobey a public governor, than to offend a private people; lest, while we fear to offend one or two private men, we really offend a hundred, affront the magistrate, and despise authority. We must rather offend others than sin ourselves. We must pay debts of justice before debts of charity; debts

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of justice in obeying the magistrate, before debts of charity in pleasing our brethren.

Prop. 18. Whereas some say that they could submit to the things that are established, but that they fear the impositions of more; we are afraid we should obey, so far as we may, for peace and quiet, and leave it to God what may be further imposed, and let us not suffer our obedience to be superseded by our fears.

Prop. 19. Whereas it is commonly discoursed, that if the things now imposed were necessary, why were they not constantly practised; if not, why were they now so rigorously imposed; we are agreed, that when, for decency, order, and uniformity's sake, any laws are made, there is the same necessity of obeying them as there is of obeying any other laws made for the good of the commonwealth; that such necessity, either in the one or the other, ariseth not immediately from the authority of the lawgiver, but from the ordinance of God, Who hath commanded us to obey the ordinances of man for His sake, as long as there is an ordinance of man concerning them in being.

Prop. 20. Whereas it offends some men, that they think that laws in matters of religion derogate from the sufficiency of Scripture and the wisdom of God, who has, they think, without such constitution, sufficiently provided for the Church of God; we are agreed, that in actions of common life, in eating, drinking, &c., and in the circumstances of religious actions, we are left to private or public reason and discretion, guided by the general rule of the Scripture—'that all things should be done decently and in order;' as good men, before the Word was written, did by nature the things contained in the Law. It was the wisdom of God that appointed us to submit to the wisdom of our superiors in the use of indifferent things; and they derogate from the authority of the Scripture who will not obey them that are to set in order the things that are wanting according to the customs of the Churches of God.

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Prop. 21. Whereas the great offence is, that *whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;* and that men doubt of the lawfulness of some things, therefore they cannot use them; we are agreed, that ordinarily there is no need of any more warrant for what we do than this only—that there is not to our knowledge any law, either of nature or Scripture, against them; we are to believe all things indifferent lawful for us to do which are not by good evidence of Scripture and reason declared unlawful. And men whose livelihood depends upon it, would do well to satisfy their scruples about things imposed, with the solemn consideration of this question: *Where is this and this forbidden?* provided that we have not neglected to inform our judgments the best we could for the time past, and that we are ever ready withal to yield ourselves to better information for the time to come. And we are strongly to suspect the principles and grounds that conscience goeth upon, when it putteth us upon the necessity, either of disobeying authority or sinning against our judgment. He that resteth his conscience upon this persuasion, that so long as he is unfeignedly desirous to do for the best, and hath not been negligent to use all requisite diligence to inform himself aright, God will accept of his good intention therein, and pardon his error, if he be mistaken in his choice: 'Let him do what he will, he sinneth not.' (1 Cor. vii. 36.) This we are persuaded of, that our own doubts must give place to our superior's commands, which must be obeyed in all things not manifestly contrary to the revealed will of God. A good conscience feareth not only to use this or that ceremony, but feareth also to disobey.

Sect. IV.—Particular Expedients in reference to what is enjoined in the Act of Uniformity.

Prop. 1. Whereas we are required to assent and subscribe, we are agreed that we must *consent* (1. with the heart be-

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lieving, Rom. x. 10; 2. with the mouth professing; 3. with the hand subscribing, Es. xliv. 5, Josh. xxiv. 25, 2 Kings xxiii. 3) to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ and *to the doctrine which is according to godliness.* Of which kinds are the three things to be subscribed to in the aforesaid Act, whereof the first is:—

'*I*, A. B., *do here unfeignedly declare my unfeigned consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in a Book, entitled* "The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, *according to the use of the Church of England, together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be said or sung in churches, and the Form and Manner of making Priests and Deacons.*"'

Prop. 2. We are agreed, that a Form of Prayer is lawful; (1) grounded upon the Word—Numbers vi. 16, Hosea xiv. 1, Matt. vi. 2; (2) agreeable to the general custom of the Church, which useth Liturgies—Liturgy of James, Basil, Chrysostom, Liturgy of the Church of Scotland, Liturgy of Geneva, the Liturgies of the French Churches; for the instruction of the ignorant, the maintenance of truth, unity, and peace. Yea, according to the opinion of the non-conformists, Liturgies are lawful, for they composed no less than three in Queen Elizabeth's time, and one since the king came in.

Prop. 3. We are agreed, (1) that upon search our Liturgy comes nearest the primitive ones of any established, beginning with sentences and exhortations, according to the Scripture; (2) that the Confession is orthodox, that the Absolution, the Lord's Prayer, the hymns, the psalms, the chapters, Creed, with all the prayers, are such as may be allowed by any that judge charitably.

We are agreed, that the people may as well repeat the words of the prayer after the minister, as say 'Amen' after them; to stir up their affections, to declare their comfort, to

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keep up their fervency,—'Suis quisque verbis resipiscentiam profiteatur et preces repetat;'—and repeat the Psalms as Moses and Miriam, Exodus xv. 1; and as the angels answer one another, saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.'

Prop. 4. We are agreed, that the gestures of standing in confession, of kneeling, are our reasonable service, and that the vestures imposed may be used decently. According to the rules in St. Jerome, divine religion hath one kind of habit wherein to minister before the Lord, and another for ordinary uses belonging to common life. In this we approve St. Basil's counsel, 'Let him that approveth not his governor's ordinances, plainly yet privately shew his dislike,' if he have a λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, according to the true will of God and meaning of the Scripture, or else let him quietly with silence do what is enjoined.

Prop. 5. We are agreed, (1) that we may safely say those words, 'When Thou didst overcome the sharpness of death,'—virtually at the beginning of the world and actually in the fulness of time,—'Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.' (2) That we may safely say, 'God deliver us from sudden death,' that death, when it cometh, may give us time with David, Moses, &c. leisurely to end our lives in peace, praying for posterity, confirming, comforting, and instructing our relations, dying the death of the righteous, and having our latter end like his; or, if death come suddenly, we may prepare for it in our lives. (3) That we may say, 'That for our unworthiness we cannot ask,' what for the merits of Christ we do ask; looking inward we are silenced by our sins, looking upward we speak and prevail. (4) That we may say, 'O Lord, deliver us from all adversity,' if it be possible, yet resolving, 'that not our will, but the will of God be done in earth as it is in heaven.' (5) That we may safely say, 'That God would have mercy upon all men,' when the Apostle would have supplications to be made for all men, because that God was willing that all should come to the knowledge of the

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truth and be saved (1 Tim. ii. 3); and our charity hopeth all things (1 Cor. xiii. 7; Rom. ix. 2, x. 1; Matt. xii. 12; Jer. xv. 1). (6) That we may say the child hath all things that it is capable of which are *necessary to salvation,* when he is baptized. (7) That we may say according to Scripture, John iii., that the baptized is *regenerate* of water,—and we hope, of the Holy Ghost, if it die before the commission of actual sin, Rom. v. 12, &c. (8) That we may say of any particular person dying in the faith, that we bury him in hope of resurrection unto life, by that charity that hopeth all things.

Prop. 6. We are agreed, to use the cross and other innocent ceremonies and ancient, as signal marks of faith, humility, purity, courage, and constancy, in some parts of the worship and service of the Church; as not conferring grace, but as reverential in the solemn calling upon God's name, as decent in God's public worship, and as instances of our obedience to superiors in Church and State, commanding things not contrary to God's Word in faith, mysteries, and manners; and thereby reducing the uncertainty of necessary circumstances (as time, place, vesture, gesture, measure, and manner) to that fixed unity and comeliness as seems to the Church most decent for the nature of the duty, the conveniency of the people, and the beauty of holiness. In a word, we are agreed to submit to the established Liturgy as agreeable to the Word of God (Joel ii. 11, Eccl. v. 30), as agreeable to the custom of the ancient Churches, as agreeable to the custom of modern Churches, who retain Liturgies to this day as exact as any of theirs, if compared, and allowed by the foreign Churches, by learned doctors, and holy martyrs, who sealed it with their blood; especially considering that we shall not be so strictly tied to the Liturgy, but that we may use our own gifts before and after sermon.

Whereas we are obliged in the next place to declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatever to take arms

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against the king; and that we do abhor that traitorous [pretence] of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him.

Prop. 1. We are agreed, that it is scandalous to our religion, whose doctrine is obedience; that it is dangerous to our profession (such positions provoking rulers to root us out of the earth); that it is contrary to the profession and practice of good men in all ages, whose way was prayer and patience; that it is contrary to the Scripture to resist, and that whosoever resisteth, 'tis his own damnation—'If any kill with the sword, he shall be killed with the sword:' here is the patience of the saints;—that it is originally Jesuitical for subjects to raise war against their king.

Prop. 2. We are agreed, that the Scripture provides not only for the safety of the royal governor, but of the royal person, when we are forbid to despise dominion, to speak evil of dignities, not to resist the powers ordered of God. Oh! it is absurd to follow the king's person with arms in one place and to preserve his authority in another; miserable is that power that cannot protect the person in whom it is.

Whereas we are obliged in the third place to renounce the covenant.

Prop. 1. We are afraid, that the solemn League and Covenant was unlawful, because it was imposed contrary to the liberty the subject had sworn in the Protestation to defend; to which liberty the imposition of a new oath other than is established by Act of Parliament, King, Lords, and Commons, is said in the Petition of Rights and in the Declaration of the Lords and Commons to be contrary. It was against the consent of the supreme magistrate, without whom no public resolution can be taken contrary to his government; no more than we must allow a child or servant to resolve anything contrary to the welfare of the family where they are, without the father or mother's consent. Because it was in the matter of it violent, wherein men had no power over their own will.

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Because it was in the matter of it sinful, as (1) obliging us to things disorderly beyond our measure, to meddle with things too high for us; (2) as obliging us to cast out episcopacy as tyrannical, and the Liturgy as superstitious—to the scandal of the Papist, to whom the cause is hereby yielded which our learned writers have maintained against them—to the justifying them in the scorn and reproach of our religion—to a confession that the laws and punishments made and inflicted against Papists here are unjust—to the violation of our own consciences, who approved both as agreeable to the Word of God, in our subscriptions at our ordinations and otherwise; who swore to both in our Protestation, to defend the true Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and in the Oath of Supremacy; who know both to be of apostolical institution and of ancient practice, and so owned by us in our subscription to the Articles; as obliging us to extirpate that which the Parliament declared they would not abolish (Resol. Dec. 15, 1641; Decl. April 9, 1642). Unlawful, because obliging us to what is impossible, because limiting our care of his Majesty to the defence of true religion, whereas we must be loyal to him, let him profess what religion he please. It was unlawful in the end of it, which was war, tumult, and sedition, and the ruin of the kingdom. Because of that oath the land mourned, and we did many sad things with Herod, 'because of the oath.'

Prop. 3. We are agreed, that as, if a woman vowed a vow to the Lord which her father disalloweth in the day that he heareth thereof, not any of her bonds or vows shall stand (Numbers xxx.); so now we have vowed a vow, and the father of our country disalloweth it, the vow wherewith we have bound ourselves shall not stand.

Prop. 4. We agree all herein, viz. that the dangerous position above said, and the Covenant, are of such desperate tendencies, that if we abjure them not, as we may be deprived by the Statute of Conformity, so we may be proceeded against

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as dangerous persons by the statutes of Treason. The kingdom will think, that he that has a covenant in his heart, hath a war there too, and so must not only lose his employment but his protection too, as a person not only to be silenced but confined too.

Thus at a conference it was agreed how far we ought to submit to a Christian magistrate's authority in matters of religion, upon such principles as are owned by Mr. Baxter, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Manton, Mr. Crofton, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Case, Mr. Caryl, and many others, in print before the world.

'Blessed is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.' Rom. xiv. 22.

FINIS.

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